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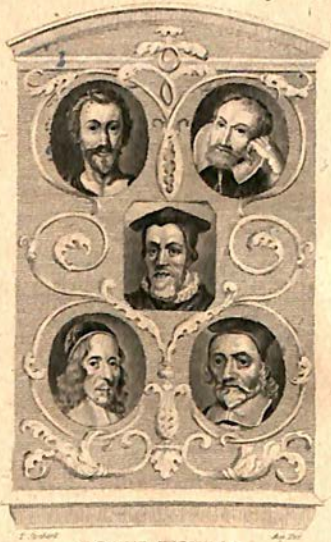

DONNE, WOTTON,
HOOKER,
HERBERT, ANDREWES.

THE LIVES

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE; SIR HENRY WOTTON;
MR. RICHARD HOOKER; MR. GEORGE
HERBERT; AND DR. ROBERT
SANDERSON.

BY IZAAK WALTON.

CD460

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE

ORDER OF THE GARTER.*

My Lord,

I DID some years past, present you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man to whose memory princes and the most learned of this nation have paid a reverence at the mention of his name. And now, with Mr. Hooker's, I present you also the Life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr.

* Dr. George Morley, distinguished by his unshaken loyalty and attachment to Charles I. was, at the Restoration, first made Dean of Christ Church, and then Bishop of Worcester. In 1662 he was translated to the See of Winchester. Though nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, he never did them the honour, nor himself the injury, to sit among them. During his absence from his native country, he endeared himself to several learned foreigners, particularly to Andrew Rivettus, Heinsius, Salmasius, and Bochart. He constantly attended the young exiled King; but not being permitted to follow him into Scotland, he retired to Antwerp, where for about three or four years he read the service of the

George Herbert; and with his the Life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted. The two first were written under your roof; for which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a Dedication. And, indeed, so you might of Dr. Donne's, and Sir Henry Wotton's: because, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or study, but by the advantage of forty years' friendship, and thereby, with hearing and discoursing with your Lordship, that hath enabled me to make the relation of these Lives passable—if they prove so—in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my Lord, though these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men; yet I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your name to them; and desire all that know your Lordship, to apprehend this not as a Dedication—at least by which you receive any addition of honour—but rather as an humble, and more public acknowledgement, of your long-continued, and your now daily favours to

My Lord,

Your most affectionate,

and most humble servant

IZAAK WALTON.

Church of England twice every day, catechized once a week, and administered the Communion once a month, to all the English in the town who could come to it; regularly and strictly observing all the parochial duties of a clergyman, as he did afterwards at Breda for four years together. He died in 1684.

EPISTLE TO THE READER.

THOUGH the several Introductions to these several Lives have partly declared the reasons how, and why I undertook them, yet since they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted, and the four are now become one book,* I desire leave to inform you that shall become my reader, that when I sometimes look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without some wonder at myself that I am come to be publicly in print. And though I have in those introductions declared some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so, yet let me add this to what is there said, that by my undertaking to collect some notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the life of Dr. Donne, and by Sir Henry Wotton's dying before he performed it, I became like those men that enter easily into a lawsuit or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet, when they desire it.—And really, after such a manner, I became engaged into a necessity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions; and that begot a like necessity of writing

* He had not then written the Life of Bishop Sanderson.

the Life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two Lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement in this kind; for I thought I knew my unfitness. But, about that time, Dr. Gauden* (then Lord Bishop of Exeter) published the Life of Mr. *Richard* Hooker (so he called it), with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace, Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the Bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books than that Bishop had done; and I know I have done so. And let me tell the reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it; but when he twice had enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding, that if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobe-

* Dr. John Gauden, born at Mayland in Essex, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was Dean of Bocking, and Master of the Temple, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. In 1660 he was made Bishop of Exeter, and from thence promoted to Worcester in 1662, in which year he died, aged fifty-seven years.

It must be owned that he was one of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, and that he took the covenant; to which, however, he made some scruples and objections, so that his name was soon struck out of the list. He abandoned the cause of the Parliament as soon as they relinquished their first avowed principles of *reforming* only, instead of *extirpating* episcopacy and monarchy.

dience, and indeed of ingratitude, for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life.

For the life of that great example of holiness, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself, but yet not without some respect to posterity: For though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: For I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition; especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public; but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing; so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none so great, as may not, by this confession, purchase pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now I wish, that as that learned Jew, Josephus, and others, so these men had also writ their own lives; but since it is not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more, because it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live and succeed us, and would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For when the

next age shall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reason which that excellent casuist Dr. Sanderson (the late Bishop of Lincoln) hath demonstrated in his sermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know, that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life, as for his great and useful learning; and indeed as remarkable for his fortitude in his long and patient suffering (under them that then called themselves the godly party) for that doctrine which he had preached and printed in the happy days of the nation's and the Church's peace? And who would not be content to have the like account of Dr. Field,* that great schoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet I please myself, that I shall conclude my Preface with wishing that it were so.

I. W.

* Dr. Richard Field, Chaplain to James I. and Dean of Gloucester, died Nov. 21, 1616,—the friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and one of the most learned men of his age. He was the author of a work entitled "Of the Church; fol. 1610."—James I. when he first heard *him* preach, said, "This is a *Field* for God to dwell in."—With the same allusion Fuller calls him, that learned divine, "whose memory smelleth like a *Field* that the Lord hath blessed."—Anthony Wood mentions a manuscript, written by Nathaniel Field, Rector of Stourton, in Wiltshire, containing "Some short Memorials concerning the Life of that Rev. Divine, Dr. Richard Field, Prebendary of Windsor," &c. The feature which peculiarly marked his disposition, was an aversion to those disputes on the Arminian points, which then began to disturb the peace of the Church, and from which he dreaded the most unhappy consequences. It was his ambition to conciliate, not to irritate.

THE LIFE OF

DR. JOHN DONNE,

LATE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

CHURCH, LONDON.

"He did wonders in his life, and at his death his works were marvellous."—*Ecclus.* xlvii. 14.

INTRODUCTION TO

THE LIFE OF DR. JOHN DONNE;

AS ORIGINALLY PREFIXED TO THE FIRST COLLECTION OF HIS SERMONS IN 1640.

IF that great master of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Provost of Eton College, had lived to see the publication of these sermons, he had presented the world with the author's life exactly written; and 'twas pity he did not, for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it: betwixt whom and the author there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And, though their bodies were divided, their affections were not; for that learned knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave; which he testified by entreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful: I did

most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content, till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these sermons were to be printed, and want the author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable; indignation or grief—indeed I know not which—transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the author's life, that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bondman was,* (the grateful wretch had been left alone on the sea-shore with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master; and was then gathering the scattered pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it; which was the custom of the Romans), "Who art thou, that alone hast the "honour to bury the body of Pompey the Great?" so, who am I, that do thus officiously set the author's memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to have in it more of wonder than disdain; but wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profess myself artless, should presume with my faint light to show forth his life, whose very name makes it illustrious! But, be this to the disadvantage of the person represented, certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the author's picture in a natural dress, which ought to

* Plutarch.

beget faith in what is spoken: for he that wants skill to deceive may safely be trusted.

And if the author's glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of this officious duty, confident I am that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness were then eminent; and, I have heard divines say, those virtues that were but sparks upon earth become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice that when Doctor Donne's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and I dare not now appear without it.

[DEDICATION TO THE SECOND EDITION. 1658.]

TO MY NOBLE AND HONOURED FRIEND, SIR ROBERT HOLT, OF ASTON, IN THE COUNTY OF WARWICK, BART.

SIR,

WHEN this relation of the life of Dr. Donne was first made public, it had, besides the approbation of our late learned and eloquent King, a conjunction with the author's most excellent sermons to support it; and thus it lay some time fortified against prejudice, and those passions that are, by busy and malicious men, too freely vented against the dead. And yet, now, after almost twenty years, when though the memory of Dr. Donne himself, must not, cannot die, so long as men speak English; yet when I thought time had made this relation of him so like myself, as to become useless to the world, and content to be forgotten, I find that a retreat into a desired privacy will not be afforded; for the printers will again expose it and me to public exceptions, and without those supports, which we first had and needed, and in an age too in which truth and innocence have not been able to

defend themselves from worse than severe censures. This I foresaw, and nature teaching me self-preservation, and my long experience of your abilities assuring me that in you it may be found, to you, Sir, do I make mine addresses for an umbrage and protection; and I make it with so much humble boldness, as to say 'twere degenerous in you not to afford it. For, Sir, Dr. Donne was so much a part of yourself, as to be incorporated into your family, by so noble a friendship, that I may say there was a marriage of souls betwixt him and your reverend grandfather, [John King, Bishop of London,] who in his life was an angel of our once glorious Church, and now no common star in heaven. And Dr. Donne's love died not with him, but was doubled upon his heir, your beloved uncle, [Henry King,] the Bishop of Chichester, that lives in this froward generation, to be an ornament to his calling. And this affection to him was by Dr. Donne so testified in his life, that he then trusted him with the very secrets of his soul; and at his death, with what was dearest to him, even his fame, estate, and children. And you have yet a further title to what was Dr. Donne's, by that dear affection and friendship that was betwixt him and your parents, by which he entailed a love upon yourself, even in your infancy, which was increased by the early testimonies of your growing merits, and by them continued till Dr. Donne put on immortality; and so this mortal was turned into a love that cannot die. And, Sir, 'twas pity he was lost to you in your minority, before you had attained a judgment to put a true value upon the living beauties and elegancies of his conversation; and pity too, that so much of them as were capable of such an expression, were not

drawn by the pencil of a Titian or a Tintoret, by a pen equal and more lasting than their art; for his life ought to be the example of more than that age in which he died. And yet this copy, though very much, indeed too much, short of the original, will present you with some features not unlike your dead friend, and with fewer blemishes and more ornaments than when 'twas first made public; which creates a contentment to myself, because it is the more worthy of him, and because I may with more civility entitle you to it. And in this design of doing so I have not a thought of what is pretended in most dedications, a commutation for courtesies; no indeed, Sir, I put no such value upon this trifle; for your owning it will rather increase my obligations. But my desire is, that into whose hands soever this shall fall, it may to them be a testimony of my gratitude to yourself and family, who descended to such a degree of humility as to admit me into their friendship in the days of my youth; and notwithstanding my many infirmities, have continued me in it till I am become grey-headed; and as time has added to my years, have still increased and multiplied their favours. This, Sir, is the intent of this Dedication; and having made the declaration of it thus public, I shall conclude it with commending them and you to God's dear love.

I remain, Sir,
What your many merits have made me to be,
the humblest of your servants,

ISAAC WALTON.

THE LIFE OF DR. JOHN DONNE,

LATE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,

LONDON.

MASTER JOHN DONNE was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and, though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas More, sometime Lord Chancellor of England: as also, from that worthy and laborious Judge Rastall, who left posterity the vast Statutes of the Law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the

tenth year of his age; and, in his eleventh year, was sent to the University of Oxford, having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him: That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula; of whom story says, that he was rather born than made wise by study.

There he remained for some years in Hart Hall, having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning expressed in public exercises, declared him worthy, to receive his first degree in the schools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who, being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times, and not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge, where, that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he staid till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to study the law, where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession; which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction.

His father died before his admission into this society; and, being a merchant, left him his portion in money. (It was £3,000.) His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematics, and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But, with these arts, they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish Church; of which those tutors professed, though secretly, themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his "Pseudo-Martyr," a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason and piety had both persuaded him that there could be no such sin as schism, if an adherence to some visible Church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he, being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore,—though his youth and health promised him a long life—to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and began seriously to survey and consider the body of Di-

vinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the Roman Church. And, as God's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him—they be his own words (in his preface to "Pseudo-Martyr") —so he calls the same Holy Spirit to witness this protestation; that in that disquisition and search he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties; and, indeed, Truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty, and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience: he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age did show the then Dean of Gloucester—whose name my memory hath now lost—all the Cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him, at his death, as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel: and the Earl of Essex going first to Cales, and after the Island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments.

But he returned not back into England till he had

staid some years, first in Italy and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the Sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness, which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the Lord Ellesmere, then Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief secretary; supposing and intending it to be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the State; for which, his Lordship did often protest, he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordship, in this time of Master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his servant as to forget he was his friend; and, to testify it, did always use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friend. During which time he—I dare not say unhappily—fell into such a liking, as,—with her

approbation,—increased into a love, with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Ellesmere, and daughter to Sir George More, then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and, knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the County of Surrey; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves; and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments, to kill or cool their affections to each other; but in vain, for love is a flattering mischief that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father; a passion that carries us to commit errors with as much ease as whirlwinds move feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together,—I forbear to tell the manner how,—and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends whose approbation always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so; and that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous when it was known, it was purposely whispered into the ears

of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George—doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear—the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry, Earl of Northumberland; but it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him that, as though his passion of anger and inconsideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister, the Lady Ellesmere, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordship. This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered that errors might be over punished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear some scruples, yet he became restless until his suit was granted and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not, at Mr. Donne's dismission, give him such a commendation as the great Emperor Charles the Fifth did of his Secretary Eraso, when he parted with him to his son and successor, Philip the Second, saying, "That in his Eraso, he gave to him a greater gift than all his estate, and all the kingdoms which he then resigned to him;" yet the Lord Chancellor said, "He parted with a friend, and such a Secretary as was fitter to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismission from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife to acquaint her with it; and after the subscription of his name, writ,

"John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done;"

and God knows it proved too true; for this bitter physic of Mr. Donne's dismission, was not enough to purge out all Sir George's choler, for he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge, that married him, namely, Samuel Brooke, who was after Doctor in Divinity and Master of Trinity College—and his brother Mr. Christopher Brooke, sometime Mr. Donne's chamber-fellow in Lincoln's Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy; and, being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him; for his wife was—to her extreme sorrow—detained from him; and though, with Jacob, he endured not a hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law, which proved troublesome and sadly chargeable to him, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men; and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour,—which, when it would entice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art;—these, and time,

had so dispassionated Sir George, that, as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son; and this at last melted him into so much remorse—for love and anger are so like agues as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat —that he laboured his son's restoration to his place; using to that end both his own and his sister's power to her lord; but with no success; for his answer was, "That though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and readmit servants at the request of passionate petitioners."

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's readmission was by all means to be kept secret:—for men do more naturally reluct for errors than submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment. But, however, it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled as to wish their happiness, and not to deny them his paternal blessing, but yet refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience: he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated; both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive, courtesies; these and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many

sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman, Sir Francis Wolly, of Pirford in Surrey, who intreated them to a cohabitation with him; where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him, for some years; and as their charge increased—she had yearly a child—so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that wealth hath seldom been the portion, and never the mark to discover good people; but that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of His abundant goodness denied it—He only knows why—to many, whose minds He hath enriched with the greater blessings of knowledge and virtue, as the fairer testimonies of His love to mankind: and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments; whose necessary and daily expenses were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate. Which I mention, for that at this time, there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares; the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been so good to His Church as to afford it, in every age, some such men to serve at His altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind; a disposition that is so like to God Himself, that it owes itself only to Him, who takes a pleasure to behold it in His creatures. These times (1648) He did bless with many such; some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of

more than human patience. I have said this because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham; one that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful heart at the age of 94 years—and is yet living,—one that in his days of plenty had so large a heart as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now—be it spoken with sorrow—reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining; and still shows the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which to-morrow were to care for itself. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short, but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received the following relation. He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose: "Mr. Donne, the occasion of sending for "you, is to propose to you what I have often re-"volved in my own thought since I last saw you: "which, nevertheless, I will not declare but upon "this condition, that you shall not return me a "present answer, but forbear three days, and be-"stow some part of that time in fasting and prayer; "and after a serious consideration of what I shall "propose, then return to me with your answer. "Deny me not, Mr. Donne; for it is the effect of a "true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due "for yours to me."

This request being granted, the Doctor expressed himself thus:—

"Mr. Donne, I know your education and abili-
"ties; I know your expectation of a state-employ-
"ment; and I know your fitness for it; and I know
"too the many delays and contingencies that attend
"court promises; and let me tell you that my love,
"begot by our long friendship and your merits,
"hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your
"present temporal estate as makes me no stranger to
"your necessities; which I know to be such as your
"generous spirit could not bear, if it were not sup-
"ported with a pious patience. You know I have
"formerly persuaded you to wave your court hopes,
"and enter into holy Orders; which I now again
"persuade you to embrace, with this reason added
"to my former request: The King hath yesterday
"made me Dean of Gloucester, and I am also pos-
"sessed of a benefice, the profits of which are equal
"to those of my deanery; I will think my deanery
"enough for my maintenance—who am, and re-
"solved to die, a single man—and will quit my
"benefice, and estate you in it,—which the patron
"is willing I shall do—if God shall incline your
"heart to embrace this motion. Remember, Mr.
"Donne, no man's education or parts make him too
"good for this employment, which is to be an am-
"bassador for the God of glory; that God who by
"a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind.
"Make me no present answer; but remember your
"promise, and return to me the third day with your
"resolution."

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict; but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer

till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:—

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since I "saw you I have been faithful to my promise, and "have also meditated much of your great kindness, "which hath been such as would exceed even my "gratitude; but that it cannot do; and more I "cannot return you; and I do that with an heart "full of humility and thanks, though I may not "accept of your offer; but, sir, my refusal is not "for that I think myself too good for that calling, "for which Kings, if they think so, are not good "enough: nor for that my education and learning, "though not eminent, may not, being assisted with "God's grace and humility, render me in some "measure fit for it: but I dare make so dear a "friend as you are, my confessor: some irregulari-"ties of my life have been so visible to some men, "that though I have, I thank God, made my peace "with Him by penitential resolutions against them, "and by the assistance of His grace banished them "my affections; yet this, which God knows to be "so, is not so visible to man as to free me from "their censures, and it may be that sacred calling "from a dishonour. And besides, whereas it is "determined by the best of casuists that God's "glory should be the first end, and a maintenance "the second motive to embrace that calling; and "though each man may propose to himself both "together, yet the first may not be put last without "a violation of conscience, which He that searches "the heart will judge. And truly my present con-"dition is such, that if I ask my own conscience "whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at

" this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither " give myself nor you an answer. You know, sir, " who says, 'Happy is that man whose conscience " doth not accuse him for that thing which he does.' " To these I might add other reasons that dissuade " me; but I crave your favour that I may forbear " to express them, and thankfully decline your " offer."

This was his present resolution, but the heart of man is not in his own keeping; and he was destined to this sacred service by an higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death: a little before which time Sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir George conditioning, by bond, to pay to Mr. Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with Sir Francis he studied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many, who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Mitcham—near to Croydon in Surrey—a place noted for good air and choice company: there his wife and children remained; and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to Whitehall, whither his

friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest consideration, and with some rewards for his better subsistence.

Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most Ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London; but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Mitcham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God knows, needed it: and that you may the better now judge of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters:—

"—— And the reason why I did not send an "answer to your last week's letter was because it "then found me under too great a sadness; and at "present 'tis thus with me: There is not one person, "but myself, well of my family: I have already lost "half a child, and, with that mischance of hers, my "wife has fallen into such a discomposure as would "afflict her too extremely, but that the sickness of "all her other children stupifies her: of one of "which, in good faith, I have not much hope: and "these meet with a fortune so ill-provided for phy-"sic, and such relief, that if God should ease us "with burials, I know not how to perform even "that; but I flatter myself with this hope, that I

" am dying too; for I cannot waste faster than by " such griefs. As for, ——

" From my Hospital at Mitcham,

" Aug. 10. " JOHN DONNE."

Thus he did bemoan himself; and thus in other letters:—

" —— For, we hardly discover a sin, when it is " but an omission of some good, and no accusing " act: with this or the former, I have often suspected " myself to be overtaken; which is, with an over- " earnest desire of the next life: and though I " know it is not merely a weariness of this, because " I had the same desire when I went with the tide, " and enjoyed fairer hopes than I now do: yet I " doubt worldly troubles have increased it: 'tis now " Spring, and all the pleasures of it displease me; " every other tree blossoms, and I wither: I grow " older, and not better; my strength diminisheth, " and my load grows heavier; and yet I would fain " be or do something; but that I cannot tell what, " is no wonder in this time of my sadness; for to " choose is to do; but to be no part of any body is as " to be nothing: and so I am, and shall so judge " myself, unless I could be so incorporated into a " part of the world, as by business to contribute " some sustentation to the whole. This I made " account; I began early, when I understood the " study of our laws; but was diverted by leaving " that and embracing the worst voluptuousness, an " hydroptic immoderate desire of human learning " and languages: beautiful ornaments indeed to " men of great fortunes, but mine was grown so " low as to need an occupation; which I thought " I entered well into, when I subjected myself to

" such a service as I thought might exercise my
" poor abilities: and there I stumbled, and fell too;
" and now I am become so little, or such a nothing,
" that I am not a subject good enough for one of my
" own letters.—Sir, I fear my present discontent
" does not proceed from a good root, that I am so
" well content to be nothing—that is, dead. But,
" sir, though my fortune hath made me such as that
" I am rather a sickness or a disease of the world,
" than any part of it, and therefore neither love it
" nor life; yet I would gladly live to become some
" such thing as you should not repent loving me:
" Sir, your own soul cannot be more zealous for your
" good than I am; and God, who loves that zeal in
" me, will not suffer you to doubt it. You would
" pity me now if you saw me write; for my pain
" hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it
" so that my eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore
" receive you into my prayers with mine own weary
" soul, and commend myself to yours. I doubt not
" but next week will bring you good news, for I have
" either mending or dying on my side; but if I do
" continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in this,
" that my Blessed Saviour in exercising His justice
" upon my two worldly parts, my fortune and my
" body, reserves all His mercy for that which most
" needs it, my soul! which is, I doubt, too like a
" porter that is very often near the gate, and yet
" goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that
" my loathness to give over writing now, seems to
" myself a sign that I shall write no more. ——

" Your poor friend, and
" God's poor patient,

" Sept. 7. " JOHN DONNE."

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune and the perplexities of his generous mind; and thus it continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained constantly at Mitcham; and to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church, and especially those of Supremacy and Allegiance: and to that place and such studies he could willingly have wedded himself during his life; but the earnest persuasion of friends became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry, a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drury Lane, and not only rent free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his, in all their joy and sorrows.

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's house, the Lord Hay was, by King James, sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French King, Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on a sudden resolution to accompany him to the French Court, and to be present at his audience there. And Sir Robert put on a sudden resolution to solicit Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, "Her divining soul boded "her some ill in his absence;" and therefore desired

him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him, and told his wife so; who did therefore, with an unwilling willingness, give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months; for about that time they determined their return. Within a few days after this resolve, the Ambassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne, left London; and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris. Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone in that room in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left, so he found, Mr. Donne alone; but in such an ecstasy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him; insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence. To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer; but, after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: "I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through "this room, with her hair hanging about her "shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: this I "have seen since I saw you." To which Sir Robert replied, "Sure, sir, you have slept since I saw you; "and this is the result of some melancholy dream, "which I desire you to forget, for you are now "awake." To which Mr. Donne's reply was: "I "cannot be surer that I now live than that I have

" not slept since I saw you: and am as sure that at " her second appearing she stopped and looked me " in the face, and vanished." Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne's opinion the next day: for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true. It is truly said that desire and doubt have no rest; and it proved so with Sir Robert; for he immediately sent a servant to Drewry House, with a charge to hasten back and bring him word whether Mrs. Donne were alive; and, if alive, in what condition she was as to her health. The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account;—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad and sick in her bed; and that, after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour, that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder, and it well may; for most of our world are at present possessed with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased. And, though it is most certain that two lutes, being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon, the other that is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will—like an echo to a trumpet—warble a faint audible harmony in answer to the same tune; yet many will not believe there is any such thing as a sympathy of souls; and I am well pleased that every reader do enjoy his own opinion. But if the unbelieving, will not allow the believing reader of this story, a liberty to believe that it may be true, then I

wish him to consider many wise men have believed that the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin, and Monica his mother, had visions in order to his conversion. And though these and many others—too many to name—have but the authority of human story, yet the incredible reader may find in the sacred story (1 Sam. xxviii. 14) that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death—whether really or not, I undertake not to determine. And Bildad, in the Book of Job, says these words (iv. 13-16): "A spirit passed before "my face; the hair of my head stood up; fear and "trembling came upon me, and made all my bones "to shake." Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be considered by the incredulous reader; to whom I will also commend this following consideration: That there be many pious and learned men that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a particular guardian angel to be his constant monitor, and to attend him in all his dangers, both of body and soul. And the opinion that every man hath his particular angel may gain some authority by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance out of prison (Acts xii. 7-10; 13-15), not by many, but by one angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit by the reader's considering, that when Peter after his enlargement knocked at the door of Mary the mother of John, and Rhode, the maid-servant, being surprised with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haste and told the disciples, who were then and there met together, that Peter was at the door; and they, not believing it, said she was mad: yet, when she again affirmed it,

though they then believed it not, yet they concluded, and said, "It is his angel."

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief; but I forbear, lest I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me; and yet I think myself bound to declare that, though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me—now long since—by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul than any person then living: and I think he told me the truth; for it was told with such circumstances, and such asseveration, that—to say nothing of my own thoughts—I verily believe he that told it me did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's further trouble as to the relation and what concerns it, and will conclude mine with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time he then parted from her. And I beg leave to tell that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry, say that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them:—

"A VALEDICTION, FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

"As virtuous men pass mildly away,
"And whisper to their souls to go,
"Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
"The breath goes now, and some say, No:

"So let us melt, and make no noise,
"No tear-floods, nor sigh-tempests move;
"'Twere profanation of our joys,
"To tell the laity our love.

" Moving of th' earth, brings harms and fears :
" Men reckon what it did or meant :
" But trepidation of the spheres,
" Though greater far, is innocent.

" Dull sublunary lovers' love—
" Whose soul is sense—cannot admit
" Absence, because that doth remove
" Those things which elemented it.

" But we, by a love so far refin'd,
" That ourselves know not what it is,
" Inter-assured of the mind,
" Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

" Our two souls, therefore, which are one,
" Though I must go,—endure not yet
" A breach, but an expansion,
" Like gold to airy thinness beat.

" If we be two ? we are two so
" As stiff twin-compasses are two :
" Thy soul, the fix'd foot, makes no show
" To move, but does if th' other do.

" And though thine in the centre sit,
" Yet, when my other far does roam,
" Thine leans and hearkens after it,
" And grows erect as mine comes home.

" Such wilt thou be to me, who must,
" Like th' other foot, obliquely run :
" Thy firmness makes my circle just,
" And me to end where I begun."

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the King for some secular employment for him. The King had formerly both known and put a value upon his company, and had also given him some hopes of a state-employment; being always much pleased when

Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes, or debates of religion, betwixt his Majesty and those divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times: particularly the Dean of the Chapel, who then was Bishop Montague—the publisher of the learned and eloquent Works of his Majesty—and the most Reverend Doctor Andrews the late learned Bishop of Winchester, who was then the King's Almoner.

About this time there grew many disputes, that concerned the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, in which the King had appeared, and engaged himself by his public writings now extant: and his Majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those Oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his Majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them; and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger, and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and within six weeks brought them to him under his own handwriting, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of "Pseudo-Martyr," printed anno 1610.

When the King had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the Ministry; to which, at that time, he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it—such was his mistaken modesty—to be too weighty for his abilities: and though his Majesty had promised him a favour, and

many persons of worth mediated with his Majesty for some secular employment for him—to which his education had apted him—and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobald's with the King, where one of the Clerks of the Council died that night, the Earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said, "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, "and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden "till I go up to the King, and bring you word that "you are Clerk of the Council: doubt not my doing "this, for I know the King loves you, and know the "King will not deny me." But the King gave a positive denial to all requests, and, having a discerning spirit, replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned "man, has the abilities of a learned Divine, and will "prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to "prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny "you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth, (in his "Book of Devotions,") "the King "descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation, "of him to enter into sacred Orders:" which, though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of Textual Divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the Clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long suffering, those only were then judged worthy the Ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits

did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of humility, and labour, and care, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity. And such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration, could not, in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life, and competency of learning, required in such as enter into sacred Orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, "Lord, who is sufficient for these "things?" and with meek Moses, "Lord, who "am I?" And sure, if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the Angel did with Jacob, and marked him; marked him for His own; marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to the motions of His Blessed Spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, "Who am I?" so now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him, in the King's and others' thankful solicitations of him, he came to ask King David's question, "Lord, who am I, that Thou art so "mindful of me?" So mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life: so merciful to me, as to move the learnedest of Kings to descend to move me to serve at the altar! So merciful to me, as at last to move my heart to

embrace this holy motion! Thy motions I will and do embrace: and I now say with the Blessed Virgin, "Be it with Thy servant as seemeth best in Thy "sight:" and so, Blessed Jesus, I do take the Cup of Salvation, and will call upon Thy Name, and will preach Thy Gospel.

Such strifes as these St. Austin had, when St. Ambrose endeavoured his conversion to Christianity; with which he confesseth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author—a man fit to write after no mean copy—did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne's abilities—for he had been Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne's being his Lordship's Secretary—that reverend man did receive the news with much gladness; and, after some expressions of joy, and a persuasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed to ordain him first Deacon, and then Priest not long after.

Now the English Church had gained a second St. Austin; for I think none was so like him before his conversion, none so like St. Ambrose after it: and if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentred in Divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now, all his earthly affections were changed into Divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others; in preaching the glad

tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence: and now such a change was wrought in him, that he could say with David, "O how amiable are thy Tabernacles, O Lord God "of Hosts!" Now he declared openly, "that when "he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual "blessing." And that "he was now gladder to be a "door-keeper in the House of God, than he could be "to enjoy the noblest of all temporal employments."

Presently after he entered into his holy profession, the King sent for him, and made him his Chaplain in Ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And, though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such, as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modesty in this employment was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend to preach privately in some village, not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did, till his Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and, though much were expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy —which few are—as to satisfy and exceed their expectations: preaching the Word so, as shewed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to Heaven in holy

raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it; and a virtue so as to make it beloved, even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think—such indeed as have not heard him—that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching. If this meets with any such, let me entreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say; it being attested by a gentleman of worth,—Mr. Chidley, a frequent hearer of his sermons—in part of a funeral elegy writ by him on Mr. Donne; and is a known truth, though it be in verse:—

" —— Each altar had his fire ——
" He kept his love, but not his object; wit
" He did not banish, but transplanted it;
" Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
" To piety which it doth best become.
* * * * * * *
" For say, had ever pleasure such a dress?
" Have you seen crimes so shaped, or loveliness
" Such as his lips did clothe Religion in?
" Had not reproof a beauty passing Sin?
" Corrupted Nature sorrow'd that she stood
" So near the danger of becoming good.
" And, when he preach'd, she wish'd her ears exempt
" From piety, that had such pow'r to tempt.
" How did his sacred flattery beguile
" Men to amend? ——"

More of this, and more witnesses, might be brought; but I forbear and return.

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred Orders, and was made the

King's Chaplain, his Majesty then going his progress, was entreated to receive an entertainment in the University of Cambridge: and Mr. Donne attending his Majesty at that time, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made Doctor in Divinity: Doctor Harsnett, after Archbishop of York, was then Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the "Pseudo-Martyr," required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the University, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs.

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred Orders, he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him: but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life; but an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died, leaving him a man of a narrow, unsettled estate, and—having buried five—the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became crucified to the world, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures, that are daily acted on that restless stage, and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think—being, passions may be both changed and heightened by accidents—but that *that* abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes, and the companion of his youth; her, with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears, as common people are not capable of; not hard to think but that she being now removed by death, a commensurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done; and so indeed it did; for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness; now grief took so full a possession of his heart as to leave no place for joy: if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where, like a pelican in the wilderness, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction: "Oh that I might have the desire of "my heart! Oh that God would grant the thing "that I long for!" For then, as the grave is become her house, so I would hasten to make it mine also; that we two might there make our beds together in the dark. Thus, as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion, so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows: thus he began the day and ended the night: ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued till a consideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's "Woe is

" me, if I preach not the Gospel!" dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried—in St. Clement's Church, near Temple Bar, London; and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremy's Lamentation: " Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction."

And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness; and so they left the congregation; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave Benchers of Lincoln's Inn—who were once the companions and friends of his youth—to accept of their Lecture, which, by reason of Dr. Gataker's removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved, and where he had been a Saul,—though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible practice of it,—there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was a shining light among his old friends; now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it; now he might say,

as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, "Be ye fol-
"lowers of me, as I follow Christ, and walk as ye
"have me for an example;" not the example of a busy body, but of a contemplative, a harmless, an humble and an holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble Society was expressed to him many ways; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart, and newly furnished for him with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added; indeed so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits: and in this love-strife of desert and liberality, they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the Palsgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation.

King James, whose motto—*Beati pacifici*,—did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose, the discords of that discomposed State; and, amongst other his endeavours, did then send the Lord Hay, Earl of Doncaster, his Ambassador to those unsettled Princes; and, by a special command from his Majesty, Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the Princes of the Union, for which the Earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: and his friends at Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wife's death, would, as Jacob said, "make his days few," and

respecting his bodily health, "evil" too: and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him, with many reluctations: for, though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, "Be- "hold, you, to whom I have preached the kingdom "of God, shall from henceforth see my face no "more;" yet he, believing himself to be in a consumption, questioned, and they feared it: all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best; for this employment—to say nothing of the event of it—did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress, the Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation; and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him: who, having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated, and his health improved; and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey was made Bishop of Exeter, and by his removal, the Deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the King sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his

Majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after his pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I "have invited you to dinner; and, though you sit "not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a "dish that I know you love well; for, knowing you "love London, I do therefore make you Dean of St. "Paul's; and, when I have dined, then do you take "your beloved dish home to your study, say grace "there to yourself, and much good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his Deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the Chapel; suffering as holy David once vowed, "his eyes "and temples to take no rest till he had first beau-"tified the house of God."

The next quarter following when his father-in-law, Sir George More,—whom time had made a lover and admirer of him—came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it; and said—as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive—"'It is enough;' you have "been kind to me and mine: I know your present "condition is such as not to abound, and I hope "mine is, or will be such as not to need it: I will "therefore receive no more from you upon that con-"tract," and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his Deanery the Vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White, the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend Richard Earl of Dorset, then the patron, and confirmed by his brother the late deceased Edward, both of them men of much honour.

By these, and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next Parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor to the Convocation, and about that time was appointed by his Majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. All which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole Clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the King's displeasure, and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his Majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the King's inclining to popery, and a dislike of his government; and particularly for the King's then turning the evening lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief, and Commandments. His Majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court—I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion—and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise

unless they be busy about what they understand not, and especially about religion.

The King received this news with so much discontent and restlessness that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt; but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory that the King said, "he was right glad he rested no longer "under the suspicion." When the King had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down, and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful, and free from all collusion, and therefore "desired that "he might not rise till, as in like cases, he always "had from God, so he might have from his Majesty, "some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his "opinion." At which the King raised him from his knees with his own hands, and "protested he "believed him; and that he knew he was an honest "man, and doubted not but that he loved him "truly." And, having thus dismissed him, he called some Lords of his Council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, "My Doctor is an "honest man; and, my Lords, I was never better "satisfied with an answer than he hath now made "me; and I always rejoice when I think that by "my means he became a Divine."

He was made Dean in the fiftieth year of his age, and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption; but God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, preserved his spirit, and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that sickness first seized his body; but it continued long, and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend, Dr. Henry King, then chief Residentiary of that church, and late Bishop of Chichester, a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily; and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose.

"Mr. Dean, I am, by your favour, no stranger "to your temporal estate, and you are no stranger "to the offer lately made us for the renewing a lease "of the best Prebend's corps belonging to our "church; and you know 'twas denied, for that our "tenant being very rich, offered to fine at so low a "rate as held not proportion with his advantages; "but I will either raise him to an higher sum, or "procure that the other Residentiaries shall join to "accept of what was offered; one of these, I can "and will by your favour do without delay, and "without any trouble either to your body or mind: "I beseech you to accept of my offer, for I know it "will be a considerable addition to your present "estate, which I know needs it."

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply:—

"My most dear friend, I most humbly thank "you for your many favours, and this in particular; "but in my present condition I shall not accept of "your proposal; for doubtless there is such a sin as "sacrilege; if there were not, it could not have a "name in Scripture: and the primitive clergy were "watchful against all appearances of that evil; and "indeed then all Christians looked upon it with "horror and detestation, judging it to be even an

" open defiance of the power and providence of Al-
" mighty God, and a sad presage of a declining
" religion. But instead of such Christians, who had
" selected times set apart to fast and pray to God,
" for a pious clergy, which they then did obey, our
" times abound with men that are busy and litigious
" about trifles and church ceremonies, and yet so far
" from scrupling sacrilege, that they make not so
" much as a quære what it is: but I thank God I
" have; and dare not now upon my sick-bed, when
" Almighty God hath made me useless to the ser-
" vice of the church, make any advantages out of it.
" But if He shall again restore me to such a degree
" of health as again to serve at His altar, I shall
" then gladly take the reward which the bountiful
" benefactors of this church have designed me; for
" God knows my children and relations will need it.
" In which number, my mother—whose credulity
" and charity has contracted a very plentiful to a
" very narrow estate—must not be forgotten. But
" Dr. King, if I recover not, that little worldly
" estate that I shall leave behind me—that very
" little, when divided into eight parts—must, if you
" deny me not so charitable a favour, fall into your
" hands, as my most faithful friend and executor;
" of whose care and justice I make no more doubt
" than of God's blessing on that which I have con-
" scientiously collected for them; but it shall not be
" augmented on my sick-bed; and this I declare to
" be my unalterable resolution."

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated; and as his strength increased so did his thankfulness to

Almighty God, testified in his most excellent "Book "of Devotions," which he published at his recovery; in which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul, paraphrased and made public: a book that may not unfitly be called a Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstasies, occasioned and applicable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick-bed; herein imitating the holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say his recovery was supernatural: but that God that then restored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life: and then, in August 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvey, at Abury Hatch, in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which, with the help of his constant infirmity—vapours from the spleen—hastened him into so visible a consumption that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, "He dies daily;" and he might say with Job, "My welfare passeth away as a cloud, the days of "my affliction have taken hold of me, and weary "nights are appointed for me."

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only weakening, but wearying him so much, that my desire is he may now take some rest; and that before I speak of his death thou wilt not think it an impertinent digression to look back with me upon some observations of his life, which, whilst a gentle

slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly, exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error which, though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was very far from justifying it: and though his wife's competent years, and other reasons, might be justly urged to moderate severe censures, yet he would occasionally condemn himself for it: and doubtless it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not blessed them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly than the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was so happy as if nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered,—most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age—it may appear by his choice metaphors that both nature and all the arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely—God knows, too loosely—scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short-lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals; but, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry, as to forsake that; no, not in his declining age; witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious composures. Yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote

this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul, in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it:—

"AN HYMN

"TO GOD THE FATHER.

"Wilt Thou forgive that sin where I begun,
"Which was my sin, though it were done before?
"Wilt Thou forgive that sin through which I run,
"And do run still, though still I do deplore?
"When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done,
"For I have more.

"Wilt Thou forgive that sin, which I have won
"Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
"Wilt Thou forgive that sin which I did shun
"A year or two;—but wallow'd in a score?
"When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done,
"For I have more.

"I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
"My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
"But swear by Thyself, that at my death Thy Son
"Shall shine as He shines now, and heretofore;
"And having done that, Thou hast done,
"I fear no more."

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's Church, in his own hearing; especially at the Evening Service; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, "the words of this hymn "have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that "possessed my soul in my sickness, when I com-"posed it. And, O the power of church-music! "that harmony added to this hymn has raised the "affections of my heart, and quickened my graces "of zeal and gratitude; and I observe that I

"always return from paying this public duty of "prayer and praise to God, with an unexpressible "tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the "world."

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the Church nearest to His time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity had broke in upon them, and profaned and ruined their sanctuaries, and because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their Churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God, where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.

But now [1656], Oh Lord! how is that place become desolate!

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the Body of Christ extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw, when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross: his varying no otherwise than to affix Him not to a cross, but to an anchor—the emblem of Hope;—this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in Heliotropium stones, and set in gold; and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals, or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry

Goodier and Sir. Robert Drewry, could not be of that number; nor could the Lady Magdalen Herbert, the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him; but Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Hall, the then—late deceased—Bishop of Norwich, were; and so were Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester—lately deceased—men, in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Christian humility, that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not; I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The Tem- "ple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations." A book, in which by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and Heaven: and may, by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne, there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred

endearments; of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

"TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT;

"SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR "AND CHRIST.

"*A Sheaf of Snakes used*
"*heretofore to be my Seal,*
"*which is the Crest of our*
"*poor family.*"

"Qui priùs assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
"Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domûs,
"Adscitus domui Domini——

"Adopted in God's family, and so
"My old coat lost, into new Arms I go.
"The Cross, my Seal in Baptism, spread below,
"Does by that form into an Anchor grow.
"Crosses grow Anchors, bear as thou shouldst do
"Thy Cross, and that Cross grows an Anchor too.
"But He that makes our Crosses Anchors thus,
"Is Christ, who there is crucified for us.
"Yet with this I may my first Serpents hold;—
"God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old—
"The Serpent, may, as wise, my pattern be;
"My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
"And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
"He is my death; but on the Cross, my cure,
"Crucify nature then; and then implore
"All grace from Him, crucified there before.
"When all is Cross, and that Cross Anchor grown
"This Seal's a Catechism, not a Seal alone.
"Under that little Seal great gifts I send,
"Both works and pray'rs, pawns and fruits of a friend.
"O! may that Saint that rides on our Great Seal,
"To you that bear his name, large bounty deal.
"JOHN DONNE."

"IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS

"GEORGE HERBERT.

"Quòd Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,—
"Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet,
"Tuive Christum—

"Although the Cross could not here Christ detain,
"When nail'd unto't, but He ascends again;
"Nor yet thy eloquence here keep Him still,
"But only whilst thou speak'st—this Anchor will:
"Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
"This certain Anchor add a Seal; and so
"The water and the earth both unto thee
"Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
"Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
"This holy cable's from all storms secure.
"GEORGE HERBERT."

I return to tell the reader, that, besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that Hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the choir of St. Paul's Church, he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties; and he writ an Hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title:—

"AN HYMN TO GOD, MY GOD, IN MY SICKNESS.

"*March* 23, 1630.

"Since I am coming to that holy room,
"Where, with Thy Choir of Saints, for evermore
"I shall be made Thy music, as I come
"I tune my instrument here at the door,
"And, what I must do then, think here before.

"Since my Physicians by their loves are grown
"Cosmogrnphers; and I their map, who lie
"Flat on this bed——

"So, in His purple wrapt, receive my Lord!
"By these His thorns, give me His other Crown:
"And, as to other souls I preach'd Thy word,
"Be this my text, my sermon to mine own,
"'That He may raise; therefore the Lord throws down.'"

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations, let him know, that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius to be most refined, when, not many days before his death, "he charged it to pre-"sent his God each morning and evening with a new "and spiritual song;" justified by the example of King David and the good King Hezekiah, who, upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words; "The Lord was ready to save; "therefore I will sing my songs to the stringed in-"struments all the days of my life in the Temple of "my God."

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon *into a form*, and his text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the Fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, "that he gave both his body and "mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled "to do the work of the day following, not faintly, "but with courage and cheerfulness."

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a

morning; and it was no common business that drew him out of his chamber till past ten; all which time was employed in study; though he took great liberty after it. And if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours; some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written: for he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand: he left also six score of his sermons, all written with his own hand, also an exact and laborious Treatise concerning self-murder, called Biathanatos; wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently surveyed, and judiciously censured: a Treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study, but all businesses that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers Letters and Cases of Conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; and divers other businesses of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him; making his Will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprised by a sudden apprehension of death: but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father, by making his children's

portions equal; and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for methinks they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock, which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor, Dr. King—late Bishop of Chichester—that Model of Gold of the Synod of Dort, with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo and Fulgentio, men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend Dr. Brook—that married him—Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the Blessed Virgin and Joseph. —To Dr. Winniff who succeeded him in the Deanery —he gave a picture called the Skeleton.—To the succeeding Dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the Chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the Earls of Dorset and Carlisle he gave several pictures; and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection, than to make any addition to their estates: but unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who, by his constant and long continued bounty, might entitle themselves to be his alms-people: for all these he made provision, and so largely, as, having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention

any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience: but I will beg his favour, to present him with the beginning and end of his Will.

"In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, "Amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Christ "Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, "Priest, being at this time in good health and per- "fect understanding—praised be God therefore— "do hereby make my last Will and Testament in "manner and form following:—

"First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice "of body and soul, with my most humble thanks "for that assurance which His Blessed Spirit im- "prints in me now of the Salvation of the one, and "the Resurrection of the other; and for that con- "stant and cheerful resolution, which the same Spirit "hath established in me, to live and die in the re- "ligion now professed in the Church of England. "In expectation of that Resurrection, I desire my "body may be buried—in the most private manner "that may be—in that place of St. Paul's Church, "London, that the now Residentiaries have at my "request designed for that purpose, &c.—And this "my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of "God,—whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly "rely upon in Jesus Christ—and in perfect love and "charity with all the world—whose pardon I ask, "from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of "my superiors—written all with my own hand, and "my name subscribed to every page, of which there "are five in number.

"Sealed December 13, 1630."

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful

and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous; he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and redeemed many from prison, that lay for their fees or small debts: he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, especially at the Birth and Resurrection of our Saviour. He gave an hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carelessness became decayed in his estate; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman's saying, "He wanted not;"—for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty, rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it; so there be others, to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind;—which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was; "I know you "want not what will sustain nature; for a little will "do that; but my desire is, that you, who in the days "of your plenty have cheered and raised the hearts of "so many of your dejected friends, would now receive "this from me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering "of your own:" and upon these terms it was received. He was an happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred,—which he never undertook faintly; for such undertakings have usually faint effects—and they had such a faith in

his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was, even to her death, a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucked in the religion of the Roman Church with the mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his Deanery, as he numbered his years, he, at the foot of a private account, to which God and His Angels were only witnesses with him,—computed first his revenue, then what was given to the poor, and other pious uses; and lastly, what rested for him and his; and having done that, he then blessed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer; which, for that they discover a more than common devotion, the reader shall partake some of them in his own words:—

So all is that remains this year [1624-5]—

"Deo Opt. Max. benigno largitori, á me, et ab "iis quibus hæc à me reservantur, gloria et gratia "in æternum. Amen."

TRANSLATED THUS.

To God all Good, all Great, the benevolent Bestower, by me and by them, for whom, by me, these sums are laid up, be glory and grace ascribed for ever. Amen.

So that this year, [1626,] God hath blessed me and mine with—

" Multiplicatæ sunt super nos misericordiæ tuæ,
" Domine."

TRANSLATED THUS.

Thy mercies, Oh Lord! are multiplied upon us.

" Da, Domine, ut quæ ex immensâ bonitate tuâ
" nobis elargiri dignatus sis, in quorumcunque manus
" devenerint, in tuam semper cedant gloriam. Amen."

TRANSLATED THUS.

Grant, Oh Lord! that what out of Thine infinite bounty Thou hast vouchsafed to lavish upon us, into whosoever hands it may devolve, may always be improved to thy glory. Amen.

" In fine horum sex annorum manet [1628-9]—

" Quid habeo quod non accepi à Domino? Lar-
" gitur etiam ut quæ largitus est sua iterum fiant,
" bono eorum usu; ut quemadmodum nec officiis
" hujus mundi, nec loci in quo me posuit dignitati,
" nec servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni curriculo
" mihi conscius sum me defuisse; ita et liberi, quibus
" quæ supersunt, supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant,
" et beneficum authorem recognoscant. Amen."

TRANSLATED THUS.

At the end of these six years remains—

What have I, which I have not received from the Lord? He bestows, also, to the intent that what He hath bestowed may revert to Him by the proper use of it: that, as I have not consciously been wanting to myself during the whole course of the past year, either in discharging my secular duties, in

retaining the dignity of my station, or in my conduct towards my servants and the poor—so my children for whom remains whatever is remaining, may receive it with gratitude, and acknowledge the beneficent Giver. Amen.

But I return from my long digression.

We left the Author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place; and having never, for almost twenty years, omitted his personal attendance on his Majesty in that month, in which he was to attend and preach to him; nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent Preachers, and there being then—in January, 1630—a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead; that report gave him occasion to write the following letter to a dear friend:—

"Sir,

"This advantage you and my other friends have "by my frequent fevers, that I am so much the "oftener at the gates of Heaven; and this advantage "by the solitude and close imprisonment that they "reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftener "at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out "your happiness; and I doubt not, among His other "blessings, God will add some one to you for my "prayers. A man would almost be content to die, "—if there were no other benefit in death,—to hear "of so much sorrow, and so much good testimony "from good men, as I—God be blessed for it—did "upon the report of my death: yet I perceive it "went not through all; for one writ to me, that

" some—and he said of my friends—conceived I " was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself " to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an " unfriendly, and, God knows, an ill-grounded in- " terpretation; for I have always been sorrier when " I could not preach, than any could be they could " not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God " may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in the " pulpit; if not that, yet that I might take my death " in the pulpit; that is, die the sooner by occasion of " those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently " after Candlemas; about which time will fall my Lent " Sermon at Court, except my Lord Chamberlain " believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the " roll: but as long as I live, and am not speechless, " I would not willingly decline that service. I have " better leisure to write, than you to read; yet I " would not willingly oppress you with too much let- " ter. God so bless you and your son, as I wish to

" Your poor friend and Servant
" in Christ Jesus,
" J. DONNE."

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent: he had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends—who with sorrow saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones—doubted his strength to perform that task, and did

therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring him, however, it was like to shorten his life: but he passionately denied their requests, saying "he would "not doubt that that God, who in so many weaknesses "had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would "now withdraw it in his last employment; professing "an holy ambition to perform that sacred work." And when, to the amazement of some beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body, and a dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel (chap. xxxvii. 3), "Do "these bones live? or, can that soul organise that "tongue, to speak so long time as the sand in that "glass will move towards its centre, and measure "out an hour of this dying man's unspent life? "Doubtless it cannot." And yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying; the text being, "To God the Lord belong the "issues from death." Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne had preached his own Funeral Sermon.

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house; out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, "he was carried by devout men to his grave."

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent as indisposed him to business or to talk, a friend that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse

asked him, "Why are you sad?" To whom he replied, with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world; and said:—

"I am not sad; but most of the night past I "have entertained myself with many thoughts of "several friends that have left me here, and are "gone to that place from which they shall not re-"turn; and that within a few days I also shall go "hence, and be no more seen. And my preparation "for this change is become my nightly meditation "upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made "restless to me. But at this present time, I was "in a serious contemplation of the providence and "goodness of God to me; to me, who am less than "the least of His mercies: and looking back upon "my life past, I now plainly see it was His hand "that prevented me from all temporal employment; "and that it was His will I should never settle nor "thrive till I entered into the Ministry; in which "I have now lived almost twenty years—I hope to "His glory,—and by which, I most humbly thank "Him, I have been enabled to requite most of those "friends which shewed me kindness when my fortune "was very low, as God knows it was: and—as it "hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude— "I thank God most of them have stood in need of "my requital. I have lived to be useful and com-"fortable to my good Father-in-law, Sir George "More, whose patience God hath been pleased to "exercise with many temporal crosses; I have main-"tained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God, "after a plentiful fortune in her younger days, to

" bring to great decay in her very old age. I have " quieted the consciences of many, that have groaned " under the burthen of a wounded spirit, whose " prayers I hope are available for me. I cannot " plead innocency of life, especially of my youth; but " I am to be judged by a merciful God, who is not " willing to see what I have done amiss. And though " of myself I have nothing to present to Him but " sins and misery, yet I know He looks not upon " me now as I am of myself, but as I am in my " Saviour, and hath given me, even at this present " time, some testimonies by His Holy Spirit, that " I am of the number of His Elect: I am therefore " full of inexpressible joy, and shall die in peace."

I must here look so far back, as to tell the reader that at his first return out of Essex, to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox—a man of great worth—came to him to consult his health; and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers he told him, "That " by cordials, and drinking milk twenty days to- " gether, there was a probability of his restoration " to health;" but he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days; at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, " He had drunk it more to satisfy " him, than to recover his health; and that he would " not drink it ten days longer, upon the best moral " assurance of having twenty years added to his life; " for he loved it not; and was so far from fearing " Death, which to others is the King of Terrors, " that he longed for the day of his dissolution."

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commen-

dation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that like our radical heat, it will both live and die with us; and many think it should do so; and we want not sacred examples to justify the desire of having our memory to outlive our lives; which I mention, because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how, or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board, of the just height of his body. "These being got, then "without delay a choice painter was got to be in "readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as "followeth.—Several charcoal fires being first made "in his large study, he brought with him into that "place his winding-sheet in his hand, and having "put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, "and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and "his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually "fitted, to be shrouded and put into their coffin, or "grave. Upon this urn he thus stood, with his eyes "shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside "as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, "which was purposely turned towards the East, "from whence he expected the second coming of "his and our Saviour Jesus." In this posture he

was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bedside, where it continued and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his dearest friend and executor Dr. Henry King, then chief Residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble, as it now stands in that Church; and by Dr. Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as an epitaph:—

JOHANNES DONNE,

SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA, QUIBUS AB ANNIS
TENERRIMIS FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER
INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS,
ANNO SUI JESU, MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INDUTUS,
XXVII. NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII, MDCXXXI.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE, ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now, having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave; my desire is, he may rest, till I have told my reader that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and at several ages, and in several postures: and I now mention this because I have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand, at his age of eighteen,

with his sword, and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth and the giddy gaieties of that age; and his motto then was—

> " How much shall I be changed
> " Before I am changed!"

And if that young, and his now dying picture were at this time set together, every beholder might say, " Lord! how much is Dr. Donne already changed, " before he is changed!" And the view of them might give my reader occasion to ask himself with some amazement, " Lord! how much may I also, that am " now in health, be changed before I am changed; " before this vile, this changeable body shall put off " mortality!" and therefore to prepare for it.—But this is not writ so much for my reader's memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, " His great and most blessed " change was from a temporal to a spiritual employ- " ment;" in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost; and the beginning of it to be, from his first entering into Sacred Orders, and serving his most merciful God at His altar.

Upon Monday, after the drawing this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study; and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber; and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the

regulation of their lives; and then dismissed them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone, that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next; for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did; but, as Job, so he "waited "for the appointed day of his dissolution."

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die, to do which he stood in need of no longer time; for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness (in his "Book of Devotions," written then), "He was that minute ready to deliver "his soul into his Hands, if that minute God would "determine his dissolution." In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever; and his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident that he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change; and in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away, and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beatifical vision, he said, "I "were miserable if I might not die;" and after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be "done." His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him, not to serve another master—for who speaks like him,—

but died before him; for that it was then become useless to him, that now conversed with God on earth as Angels are said to do in heaven, only by thoughts and looks. Being speechless, and seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it, he did, as St. Stephen, "look stedfastly into it, till he "saw the Son of Man standing at the right hand "of God His Father;" and being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture, as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus virtuous was the life; thus excellent, thus exemplary was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church, which he had appointed for that use some years before his death; and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God—who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place;—but he was not buried privately, though he desired it; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminence for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did show it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friends repaired, and, as Alexander the Great did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers; which course they—who were never yet known—

continued morning and evening for many days, not ceasing till the stones that were taken up in that Church to give his body admission into the cold earth—now his bed of rest—were again by the mason's art so levelled and firmed as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial some unknown friend, some one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave:—

> "Reader! I am to let thee know,
> "Donne's body only lies below;
> "For, could the grave his soul comprise,
> "Earth would be richer than the skies!"

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes; for, as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts Himself a debtor; persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks sent to his faithful friends and executors (Dr. King and Dr. Montford), towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend as marble can express: a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that—as his friend Sir Henry Wotton hath expressed himself,—"It seems to breathe "faintly, and posterity shall look upon it as a kind "of artificial miracle."

He was of stature moderately tall; of a straight and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was unimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His melting eye showed that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate—especially after he entered into his sacred calling—the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of heaven: and would often say in a kind of sacred ecstacy,—"Blessed be God that He is God, "only and divinely like Himself."

He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge, with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body: that

body which once was a temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust:—

But I shall see it re-animated.

I. W.

AN ELEGY ON DR. DONNE,

BY IZAAK WALTON.

Our Donne is dead! and we may sighing say,
We had that man, where language chose to stay,
And show her utmost power. I would not praise
That, and his great wit, which in our vain days
Make others proud; but as these serv'd to unlock
That cabinet his mind, where such a stock
Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament
Our just and general cause of discontent.

And I rejoice I am not so severe,
But as I write a line, to weep a tear
For his decease; such sad extremities
Can make such men as I write elegies.

And wonder not; for when so great a loss
Falls on a nation, and they slight the cross,
God hath rais'd prophets to awaken them
From their dull lethargy; witness my pen,
Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must
Freely and boldly, for the cause is just.

Dull age! Oh, I would spare thee, but thou'rt worse:
Thou art not only dull, but hast a curse
Of black ingratitude; if not, could'st thou
Part with this matchless man, and make no vow
For thee and thine successively to pay
Some sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth scatter poetry, wherein
Lay love's philosophy? was every sin
Pictur'd in his sharp satires, made so foul,
That some have fear'd sin's shapes, and kept their soul

Safer by reading verse; did he give days,
Past marble monuments, to those whose praise
He would perpetuate? Did he—I fear
Envy will doubt—these at his twentieth year?

But, more matur'd, did his rich soul conceive
And in harmonious holy numbers weave
A crown of sacred sonnets, fit t' adorn
A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
On that blest head of Mary Magdalen,
After she wip'd Christ's feet, but not till then;
Did he—fit for such penitents as she
And he to use—leave us a Litany,
Which all devout men love, and doubtless shall,
As times grow better, grow more classical?
Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to those great grave Prudentius writ?
Spake he all languages? Knew he all laws?
The grounds and use of physic; but, because
'Twas mercenary, wav'd it? went to see
That happy place of Christ's nativity?
Did he return and preach Him? preach Him so,—
As since St. Paul none ever did? they know—
Those happy souls that heard him—know this truth.
Did he confirm thy ag'd? convert thy youth?
Did he these wonders? and is his dear loss
Mourn'd by so few? few for so great a cross.

But sure the silent are ambitious all
To be close mourners of his funeral.
If not, in common pity they forbear
By repetitions to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd and hid, consumes
Man's life insensibly,—as poison's fumes
Corrupt the brain,—take silence for the way
T' enlarge the soul from these walls, mud and clay,—
Materials of this body—to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiscuous pain
Lessens those joys we have; for with him all
Are satisfied with joys essential.

Dwell on these joys, my thoughts! Oh! do not call
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
Forget he lov'd me: waste not my swift years,
Which haste to David's seventy, fill'd with fears
And sorrows for his death: forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good men's hearts:

And, for my first is daily paid for sin,
Forget to pay my second sigh for him:
Forget his powerful preaching; and forget
I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let
My flesh be no more heard: it will obtrude
This lethargy: so should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should so be broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself: for which cause, I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world; and parting with it, grieve
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument, as matchless as his worth.

April 7, 1631. Iz. Wa.

THE LIFE

OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON, KNIGHT,

LATE PROVOST OF ETON COLLEGE.

" He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find,
" And found them not so large as was his mind."
COWLEY.

THE

LIFE OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON, whose life I now intend to write, was born in the year of our Redemption 1568, in Bocton Hall, commonly called Bocton, or Boughton Place, or Palace, in the parish of Bocton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent. Bocton Hall, being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying and being beautified by the parish Church of Bocton Malherbe adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill as gives the advantage of a large prospect, and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and Church are not remarkable for anything so much, as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that Church; the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour; whose heroic acts and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and

this nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negociations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice, in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof, in the various times both of war and peace.

But lest I should be thought by any, that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree and our chronicles, a part—and but a part—of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, was born about the year of Christ 1460: he, living in the reign of King Edward the Fourth, was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, son and heir of the said Sir Robert, was born in the year of Christ 1489, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh; he was made Treasurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry the Eighth, who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England: but, saith Holinshed (in his "Chronicle"), out of a virtuous modesty, he refused it.

Thomas Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, Esquire,

son and heir of the said Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry that occasions this relation, was born in the year of Christ 1521. He was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had—besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors —many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a Court, offering him a Knighthood,—she was then with him at his Bocton Hall—and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being "a man of great modesty, of a most plain and "single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity "of mind." A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary Mr. William Lambarde, in his "Perambulation of Kent."

This Thomas had four sons, Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "a man remarkable for "many and great employments in the State during

" her reign, and sent several times Ambassador " into foreign nations. After her death, he was by " King James made Comptroller of his Household, " and called to be of his Privy Council, and by him " advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley in " Kent, and made Lord-Lieutenant of that county."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was, in the thirty-eighth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with Robert, Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio, King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour, knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries, by taking that town.

Sir John, being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons was all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed; but if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton, who lived in the reign of King Richard the Second, or before him upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments, having been sent nine times Ambassador unto foreign Princes (Camden in his "Britannia"); and by his being a Privy Councillor to King Henry the Eighth, to Edward the Sixth, to Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three several times, and not unsuccessfully, employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, "died," saith learned Camden, "full "of commendations for wisdom and piety." He was also, by the Will of King Henry the Eighth, made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State to his son, that pious Prince, Edward the Sixth. Concerning which Nicholas Wotton I shall say but this little more: that he refused, being offered it by Queen Elizabeth, to be Archbishop of Canterbury (Holinshed), and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added; but by this it may appear that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred as left a stock of reputation to their posterity: such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his

many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employments had been pleased to have commended his to posterity; but since some years are now past, and they have all—I know not why—forborne to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of some (Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarencieux King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nic. Oudert, sometime Sir Henry Wotton's servant), that still live solicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly I have not done but with distrust of mine own abilities; and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudstone, Knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law; in the prosecution whereof—which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents—he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, "That if he ever did put on a resolution to marry, "he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of "persons: namely,

"Those that had children;

"Those that had law-suits;

"And those that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in

Westminster Hall with Mrs. Eleonora Morton, widow to Robert Morton, of Kent, Esquire, who was also engaged in several suits in law: and he observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition, and affect her person; for the tears of lovers, or beauty dressed in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted: which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton; for, although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a wife, and did, and obtained her.

By her, who was the daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in Kent, he had only Henry his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood; for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in learning as turned her employment into a pleasing trouble; which she was content to continue till his father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Boeton.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to a higher form, which was very early, he was sent to Winchester School; a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way to make the future part of his life

both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity he was, at a fit age, removed from that school to be a Commoner of New College in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queen's College: where, within that year, he was by the chief of that College persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use; it was the tragedy of Tancredo—which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had, in a slight employment, given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sour dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise knight, Baptista Guarini, whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments, thought it neither an uncomely nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Master of Arts; and at that time read in Latin three lectures *de Oculo*; wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye, and demonstrated how of those very many, every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as

the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this optic question, "Whe-" ther we see by the emission of the beams from " within, or reception of the species from without?" And after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the conclusion of his lectures, took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of "Seeing; " by which we do not only discover Nature's secrets, " but, with a continued content—for the eye is never " weary of seeing—behold the great Light of the " World, and by it discover the fabric of the heavens, " and both the order and motion of the celestial orbs; " nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may " rejoice to behold the bosom of the earth, our com- " mon mother, embroidered and adorned with num- " berless and various flowers, which man sees daily " grow up to perfection, and then silently moralise " his own condition, who, in a short time,—like those " very flowers—decays, withers, and quickly returns " again to that earth, from which both had their " first being."

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him "Henrice mi Occlle;" which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father—whom Sir Henry did never mention without this, or some like reverential expression, as, "That "good man my father," or, "My father, the best "of men;"—about that time this good man changed this for a better life; leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors, of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concerns him may not be buried without a relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our Redemption 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury,—whom I formerly mentioned,—being then Ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But, though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased; yet doubtless he could not but consider

that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration; and did therefore rather lay this dream aside than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh,—of which double dreams the learned have made many observations,—and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica, the mother of St. Austin, "That "he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly and "prayed so much, should at last become a Christian." (St. Austin's "Confessions.") This, I believe, the good Dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God, though the causes of dreams be often unknown, hath even in these latter times also by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee; upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end he wrote to the Queen,—'twas Queen Mary,—and besought her "That she would cause his nephew, "Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent; and "that the Lords of her Council might interrogate "him in some such feigned questions, as might give "a colour for his commitment into a favourable "prison; declaring that he would acquaint her "Majesty with the true reason of his request, when "he should next become so happy as to see and "speak to her Majesty."

It was done as the Dean desired: and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip King of Spain; and though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion, of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation; yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it: believing, as they said, it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number, Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley Abbey in Kent, betwixt whose family and the family of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship, was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry, especially of Kent, to side with him, and he being defeated and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life: so did the Duke of Suffolk and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for though he could not be ignorant that "another "man's treason makes it mine by concealing it," yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned to England, and then came to visit him in prison, "That he had more than an intimation of Wyat's "intentions;" and thought he had not continued actually innocent if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison: out of which place

when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it; "That God, who ties Himself to no rules, "either in preventing of evil, or in showing of "mercy to those, whom of good pleasure He hath "chosen to love."

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to His people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will also give the reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past; and the particular is this:—This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars, and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight inquiry of it. The letter, which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before, came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the City and University were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton show his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble as the casting of a figure.

And it may yet be more considerable that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both, being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given

to fasting and prayer, foresee and foretel the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age: who being then in London, where he died, and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Bocton; and though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave directions concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral. This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford; where, after his Optic Lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis, whom I formerly named, that, if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law, into the breast of his dear Harry, for so Gentilis used to call him; and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian language, and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that the friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends

to Sir Henry Wotton; yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne, sometime Dean of St. Paul's; a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say anything, because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his father's death; at which time he was about the twenty-second year of his age; and having to his great wit added the ballast of learning, and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge: of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure; as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza, then very aged, and with Isaac Casaubon, in whose house, if I be rightly informed, Sir Henry Wotton was lodged,

and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy, the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life; where, both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning and all manner of arts; as picture, sculpture, chemistry, architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his person and comportment: for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that, by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Robert Earl of Essex, then one of the darlings of Fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth, invited him first into a friendship, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries; the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometime of Merton College in Oxford, and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth, Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his learning; nor, after his removal from that

place, for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that —which was the Earl's last—into Ireland; that voyage, wherein he did then so much provoke the Queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immoveable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes as encouraged him to those undertakings, which, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction—for the Earl's followers were also divided into their several interests—which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him and divers of his confederation, yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to much such positive conclusions as subtle Statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention, by absence out of England, a better security than to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately, glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Bocton; and was, by the help of favourable winds, and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr.

Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon Sir Henry Wotton as to invite his return into England; having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence, which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's court than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts; in which number he there met with his old friend Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be Secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where, in the English College, he had very many friends; their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion; and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befel him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth, or she and her Council, were never willing to declare her successor; yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most

to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed; and the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion,—even Rome itself, and those of this nation,—knowing that the death of the Queen and the establishing of her successor, were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the Protestant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth had, both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so, if we may believe an angry adversary, a secular Priest (William Watson) against a Jesuit, you may believe that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence, which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth, Ferdinand the Great Duke of Florence, had intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James, the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring this fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta

to the Duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and, being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and with those letters such Italian antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. Being there, he used means, by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bed-chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty; assuring him, "That the business "which he was to negociate was of such conse-"quence, as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany "to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country "of Italy, to impart it to his King."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder, mixed with jealousy, to hear of an Italian Ambassador, or messenger, required his name, which was said to be Octavio Baldi, and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the Presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier, which, Italian-like, he then wore; and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords, standing distant in several corners of the chamber: at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, "bade "him be bold, and deliver his message; for he "would undertake for the secresy of all that were

"present." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the King in Italian; which, when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised and really performed by the King, during all his abode there, which was about three months; all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself, as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within some few months after his return there came certain news to Florence that Queen Elizabeth was dead: and James, King of the Scots, proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, "If he knew "one Henry Wotton that had spent much time in "foreign travel?" The Lord replied he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the King, asking where he then was, was answered at Venice

or Florence; but by late letters from thence, he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send "for him," said the King, "and when he shall "come into England, bid him repair privately to "me." The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King, "If he knew him?" To which the King answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of "that till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with: and said, "Seeing I know you "neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and "that I have had so real a testimony of your faith-"fulness and abilities to manage an ambassage, I "have sent for you to declare my purpose; which "is to make use of you in that kind hereafter." And indeed the King did so, most of those two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his motto, "Beati pacifici," to have a friendship with his neighbour kingdoms of France and Spain; and also, for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the State of Venice, and to that end to send Ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who, considering the smallness of his own estate, which he never took care to augment, and knowing the courts of great Princes

to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments; for both which fruitful Italy, that darling of Nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having, after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded: they were too many to name; but these, two, for the following reasons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton, his nephew, who went his Secretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his Chaplain.

And though his dear friend Dr. Donne, then a private gentleman, was not one of the number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of this following letter, sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

"SIR,

"After those reverend papers, whose soul is
"Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name,
"By which to you he derives much of his,
"And, how he may, makes you almost the same:

"A taper of his torch; a copy writ
"From his original, and a fair beam

" Of the same warm and dazzling sun, though it
" Must in another sphere his virtue stream:

" After those learned papers, which your hand
" Hath stor'd with notes of use and pleasure too:
" From which rich treasury you may command
" Fit matter whether you will write or do:

" After those loving papers which friends send
" With glad grief to your sea-ward steps farewell,
" And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
" To heaven on troops at a good man's passing-bell:

" Admit this honest paper, and allow
" It such an audience as yourself would ask;
" What you would say at Venice, this says now,
" And has for nature what you have for task.

" To swear much love; nor to be chang'd before
" Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
" Nor shall I then honour your fortune more
" Than I have done your honour wanting wit.

" But 'tis an easier load—though both oppress—
" To want, than govern greatness; for we are
" In that, our own and only business;
" In this, we must for others' vices care.

" 'Tis therefore well your spirits now are plac'd
" In their last furnace, in activity,
" Which fits them; schools, and courts, and wars o'erpast
" To touch and taste in any best degree.

" For me!—if there be such a thing as I—
" Fortune—if there be such a thing as she—
" Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
" That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

" But though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
" For your increase, God is as near me here:
" And, to send you what I shall beg, His stairs
" In length and ease are alike everywhere.

" J. DONNE."

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time as his master's friendship seemed useful for that Republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604, Leonardo Donato being then Duke; a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such—Sir Henry Wotton would often say it—as the State of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly, in the time of Pope Clement the Eighth, some contests about the privileges of Churchmen, and the power of the Civil Magistrates; of which, for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the Republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay-persons giving lands or goods to the Church, without licence from the Civil Magistrate; and in that inhibition they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when any "goods or land once came into the hands of the "ecclesiastics it was not subject to alienation; by "reason whereof, the lay-people being at their "death charitable even to excess, the clergy grew "every day more numerous, and pretended an ex-"emption from all public service and taxes, and "from all secular judgment, so that the burden "grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the laity."

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two clergymen, the Abbot of Nervesa and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins as I think not fit to name: nor are these mentioned

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with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling; for holiness is not tied to Ecclesiastical Orders; and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation. These two having been long complained of at Rome in the name of the State of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this Abbot and Canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such, or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement the Eighth and that Republic: I say calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering, as I conceive, that in the late Council of Trent it was at last, after many politic disturbances and delays, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's present power, in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the Church, declared by that Council, "That though discipline and espe-"cial excommunication be one of the chief sinews "of Church government, and intended to keep men "in obedience to it: for which end it was declared "to be very profitable; yet it was also declared, and "advised to be used with great sobriety and care, "because experience had informed them that when "it was pronounced unadvisedly or rashly, it became "more contemned than feared." And though this was the advice of that Council at the conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians; yet this prudent, patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul the Fifth, who succeeded him, though not immediately, yet in the same year, being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this

difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting those late acts of that State to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening if he were not obeyed to proceed to the excommunication of the Republic, who still offered to show both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predecessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year, the Pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance; till at last the Pope's zeal to the Apostolic See did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole Senate, and all their dominions, and, that done, to shut up all their Churches; charging the whole Clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him: and to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's interdict, they presently published, by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:

"That whosoever hath received from Rome any "copy of a papal interdict, published there, as well "against the law of God as against the honour of "this nation, shall presently render it to the Council "of Ten, upon pain of death." And made it loss of estate and nobility, but to speak in behalf of the Jesuits.

Then was Duado their Ambassador called home from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended

by order of the State: and the flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the Pope, either by free speaking or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the State advised with Father Paul, a holy and learned friar, the author of the "History of the Council of Trent," whose advice was, "Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose "their own right:" he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the State, "That the Pope was "trusted to keep two keys, one of Prudence and "the other of Power; and that, if they were not "both used together, Power alone is not effectual "in an excommunication."

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued till a report was blown abroad that the Venetians were all turned Protestants; which was believed by many, for that it was observed that the English Ambassador was so often in conference with the Senate, and his Chaplain, Mr. Bedel, more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: and also, for that the Republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their Ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance if need should require: and in the meantime they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England; that Pope then moving him to an union with the Roman Church; namely, "To endeavour the calling of a free Council "for the settlement of peace in Christendom; and

"that he doubted not but that the French King, "and divers other Princes, would join to assist in "so good a work; and, in the meantime, the sin of "this breach, both with his and the Venetian do- "minions, must of necessity lie at the Pope's "door."

In this contention, which lasted almost two years, the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless; still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their consulters of State, and with his pen to defend their just cause; which was by him so performed that the Pope saw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by that which was scarce so much as a show of acknowledging it: for they made an order that in that day in which they were absolved there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James; for whose sake principally, Padre Paulo compiled that eminent history of the remarkable Council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public, both in English and the universal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going

into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion; but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going Ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta: where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness, those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation, with whom he passing an evening in merriments, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his albo; a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them; and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassador in these very words:

"Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad men-
"tiendum Reipublicæ causâ."

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

"An Ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie
"abroad for the good of his country."

But the word for lie, being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn, was not so expressed in Latin as would admit, in the hands of an enemy especially, so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet, as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this albo almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit and a malicious pen; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King and his Ambassador Sir

Henry Wotton, then at Venice; and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him; and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies; one to Velserus, one of the chiefs of Augusta, in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another apology to King James, which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty, who was a pure judge of it, could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, "That Sir Henry Wotton had commuted "sufficiently for a greater offence."

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And, as that man of great wit and useful fancy, his friend Dr. Donne, gave in a Will of his—a Will of conceits—his Reputation to his Friends, and his Industry to his Foes, because from thence he received both: so those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise,

and, which is the best fruit error can bring forth, for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius, yet his interest, as though it had been an entailed love, was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding Dukes during his employment to that State, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those Dukes, and the other consulters of State, well knowing that he who negociates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail: for, by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious, and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse, with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved, such interest in the State of Venice, that it was observed, such was either his merit or his modesty, they never denied him any request.

But all this shows but his abilities and his fitness for that employment: it will therefore be needful to tell the reader what use he made of the interest which these procured him: and that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himself: he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained both in the German Empire and in Italy; where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him

cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and, by his interest, shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples: one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk; and those English having, by irregularities or improvidence, brought themselves into several galleys and prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that State for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those, which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment and unpitied poverty in a strange nation, were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him, for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him who was, during his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it by telling him, that beside several other foreign employments, Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice Ambassador to the Republic of Venice. And at his last going thither, he was employed Ambassador to several of the Ger-

man Princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando the Second; and that his employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was, by his eight months' constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his court and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion without bloodshed. But there were at that time two opposite armies in the field; and as they were treating there was a battle fought, in the managery whereof there were so many miserable errors on the one side (so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a despatch to the King), and so advantageous events to the Emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty; so that Sir Henry, seeing the face of peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that court; and, at his departure from the Emperor, was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of every battle move on the un-
"seen wheels of Fortune, which are this moment
"up, and down the next: and therefore humbly
"advised him to use his victory so soberly as still to
"put on thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it seemed to be spoken with some passion, his dear mistress the Queen of Bohemia being concerned in it, was yet taken in good part by the Emperor, who replied, "That he would consider his advice. And
"though he looked on the King his master as an
"abettor of his enemy, the Palsgrave: yet, for Sir
"Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during
"the manage of the treaty, that he took him to be a
"person of much honour and merit; and did there-

" fore desire him to accept of that jewel as a testi-
" mony of his good opinion of him :" which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina,—an Italian lady in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged and honourably entertained,—acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities; presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor; which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, " That though he received it with thank-
" fulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition
" to be the better for any gift that came from an
" enemy to his Royal Mistress, the Queen of Bo-
" hemia," for so she was pleased he should always call her. Many other of his services to his Prince and this nation might be insisted upon, as, namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German Princes, and the Republic of Venice, for the English merchants: and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's return to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me, his late Majesty's letter-office having now suffered a strange alienation; and indeed I want time too; for the

printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must hasten to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the inscription under his Arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested or lodged, when he returned from his last Embassy into England:—

"*Henricus Wottonius* Anglo-Cantianus, *Thomæ* "optimi viri filius natu minimus, à Serenissimo "*Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege*, in equestrem titulum "adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam *Vene-* "*tam* Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad Confœderatarum "Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bis "ad *Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiæ Ducem*; semel "ad Unitos Superioris *Germaniæ* Principes in Con- "ventu *Heilbrunensi*, postremò ad Archiducem "*Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem*, Civitates "Imperiales, *Argentinam, Ulmamque*, et ipsum "*Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum Secun-* "*dum*, Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc di- "dicit,

"Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo."

To London he came the year before King James died; who, having for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted for a supply of his present neces-sities; and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæsar, who then possessed it, and then grown so old that he was said to be kept alive be-yond Nature's course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support: for in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father; and, which is worse, was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists: this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: for it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That it was the very "measure of congruity," he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, "Care "not for to-morrow," were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of Providence, that in this juncture of time, the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eton became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray, for which there were, as the place deserved, many earnest and powerful suitors to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years, like Sisyphus, rolled the restless stone of a state-employment, knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a College was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age, being now almost threescore years, seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends, to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised rever-

sionary offices, and a piece of honest policy, which I have not time to relate, he got a grant of it from his Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind; but money was wanting to furnish him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey for his assistance. Of which Nicholas Pey I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way a servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's Household, was made a great officer in his Majesty's house. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey, in whom there was a radical honesty, were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expressed by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at court to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears, for less would not settle him in the College; and the want of such a sum "wrinkled his face "with care;" 'twas his own expression; and, that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his College, and "Invidiæ remedium" writ over his study door.

This money, being part of his arrears, was, by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest in court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the College; the place where, indeed, his happiness then seemed to have its beginning; the College being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a seafaring

man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock as the waves of want could not probably shake: where he might sit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers; and, as Sir William Davenant has happily expressed the like of another person—

> "Laugh at the graver business of the State,
> "Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate."

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the Statutes of the College; by which he conceived himself bound to enter into Holy Orders, which he did, being made Deacon with all convenient speed. Shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the Church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit. To whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the "King, by whose goodness I am now in this condi-"tion; a condition which that Emperor Charles "the Fifth seemed to approve; who, after so many "remarkable victories, when his glory was great in "the eyes of all men, freely gave up his crown and "the many cares that attended it, to Philip his son, "making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where "he might, by devout meditations, consult with "God, which the rich or busy men seldom do, and "have leisure both to examine the errors of his life "past, and prepare for that great day wherein all "flesh must make an account of their actions: and

" after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the " like advantage from Him 'that makes the out- " goings of the morning to praise Him;' even " from my God, whom I daily magnify for this par- " ticular mercy of an exemption from business, a " quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this " part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem " to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this " world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I " have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the College. After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once set to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind, and those still increased by constant company at his table of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling, which he would usually call "his idle time not idly spent;" saying often, "he would rather live five May months " than forty Decembers."

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learn-

ing; for whose encouragement he was, beside many other things of necessity and beauty, at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators; persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because "Almighty God has left mankind "affections to be wrought upon." And he would often say, "That none despised eloquence, but such "dull souls as were not capable of it." He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets; and would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion; concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to show the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper music at church; the priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the choir this question, writ on a small piece of paper; "Where was your religion

" to be found before Luther?" To which question Sir Henry presently underwrit, " My religion was " to be found then, where yours is not to be found " now, in the written Word of God."

The next vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the choir boys with this question to his honest, pleasant friend, the priest; " Do you believe all those many thousands " of poor Christians were damned, that were excom- " municated because the Pope and the Duke of Venice " could not agree about their temporal power? even " those poor Christians that knew not why they quar- " relled. Speak your conscience." To which he underwrit in French, " Monsieur, excusez-moi."

To one that asked him, " Whether a Papist may " be saved?" he replied, " You may be saved " without knowing that. Look to yourself."

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice; " Pray, sir, forbear till you have " studied the points better: for the wise Italians " have this proverb; 'He that understands amiss " concludes worse.' And take heed of thinking, the " farther you go from the Church of Rome, the " nearer you are to God."

And to another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

" In my travel towards Venice, as I passed through " Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where " I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius— " then the Professor of Divinity in that University— " a man much talked of in this age, which is made " up of opposition and controversy. And indeed, if

" I mistake not Arminius in his expressions—as so
" weak a brain as mine is may easily do—then I
" know I differ from him in some points; yet I pro-
" fess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man
" of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a
" most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And
" that he was so mild appears by his proposals to
" our Master Perkins of Cambridge, from whose
" book, 'Of the Order and Causes of Salvation'—
" which first was writ in Latin—Arminius took the
" occasion of writing some queries to him concerning
" the consequents of his doctrine; intending them,
" 'tis said, to come privately to Mr. Perkins' own
" hands, and to receive from him a like private and
" a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before
" those queries came to him, and 'tis thought Ar-
" minius meant them to die with him; for though
" he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to
" publish them: but since his death his sons did not.
" And 'tis pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr.
" Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer
" those proposals himself; for he was also of a most
" meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning.
" And though, since their deaths, many of high parts
" and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy;
" yet for the most part they have rather satisfied
" themselves, than convinced the dissenting party.
" And, doubtless, many middle-witted men, which
" yet may mean well, many scholars that are in the
" highest form for learning, which yet may preach
" well, men that are but preachers, and shall never
" know, till they come to Heaven, where the questions
" stick betwixt Arminius and the Church of England
" —if there be any—will yet in this world be tam-

"pering with, and thereby perplexing the contro-
"versy, and do therefore justly fall under the rebuke
"of St. Jude, for being busy-bodies, and for med-
"dling with things they understand not."

And here it offers itself—I think not unfitly, to tell the reader, that a friend of Sir Henry Wotton's being designed for the employment of an Ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negociations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism; "That, to be in safety "himself, and serviceable to his country, he should "always, and upon all occasions, speak the truth— "it seems a State paradox—for, says Sir Henry "Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this "means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall "ever be called to any account; and it will also put "your adversaries—who will still hunt counter—to "a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

Many more of this nature might be observed; but they must be laid aside: for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the reader to look back with me, whilst, according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir Albertus Morton, and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my reader, that at Sir Henry Wotton's first going Ambassador into Italy, his cousin, Sir Albertus Morton, went his Secretary: and I am next to tell you that Sir Albertus died Secretary of State to our late King; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed Sir Henry Wotton, at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world. And yet the reader may partly guess by these

following expressions: the first in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

"——And, my dear Nich. when I had been here "almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great con- "tentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus Morton "his departure out of this world, who was dearer to "me than mine own being in it: what a wound it is "to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, "will easily believe: but our Creator's will must be "done, and unrepiningly received by His own crea- "tures, Who is the Lord of all Nature and of all "Fortune, when He taketh to Himself now one, and "then another, till that expected day, wherein it "shall please Him to dissolve the whole, and wrap "up even the Heaven itself as a scroll of parchment. "This is the last philosophy that we must study "upon earth; let us therefore, that yet remain here, "as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love "to each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual "and moral, hath the highest privilege, because "death itself cannot end it. And my good Nich." &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nich. Pey: the other part is in this following Elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude, it was too hearty to be dissembled.

"TEARS

"WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON,
"BY HENRY WOTTON.

"Silence, in truth would speak my sorrow best,
"For deepest wounds can least their feeling tell:
"Yet, let me borrow from mine own unrest
"A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewell.

" Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
" Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
" And now, congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
" Strength to accent, 'Here my Albertus lies.'

" This is that sable stone, this is the cave
" And womb of earth, that doth his corse embrace:
" While others sing his praise, let me engrave
" These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

" Here will I paint the characters of woe;
" Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
" And here my faithful tears in showers shall flow,
" To humanize the flints on which I tread.

" Where, though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
" And none between my weakness judge and me;
" Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
" Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree.

" But is he gone? and live I rhyming here,
" As if some Muse would listen to my lay?
" When all distun'd sit waiting for their dear,
" And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

" Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
" Discharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's trust;
" Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
" And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

" H. W."

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the reader by telling him, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton Ambassador to the State of Venice, he sent also an Ambassador to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the Ambassador of France went Joseph Hall, late Bishop of Norwich, whose many and useful works speak his great merit: with the Ambassador to Spain went James Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three Chaplains to these three Ambassadors were all bred in one University, all of one College (Emmanuel College in Cambridge), all beneficed in

one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends. But in Spain, Mr. Wadsworth met with temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful as to persuade him—who of the three was formerly observed to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself Catholic—to disclaim himself a member of the Church of England, and to declare himself for the Church of Rome, discharging himself of his attendance on the Ambassador, and betaking himself to a monasterial life, in which he lived very regularly and so died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Bishop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth—it is the first Epistle in his printed "Decades"—to persuade his return, or to shew the reason of his apostacy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there passed betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth, divers letters which be extant in print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness; which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a book-war.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greater part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, written to our late King Charles the First:—

"May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

"Having been informed that certain persons have, "by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, "been directed hither, with a most humble petition

" unto your Majesty that you will be pleased to " make Mr. William Bedel—now resident upon a " small benefice in Suffolk—Governor of your Col- " lege at Dublin, for the good of that Society; and " myself being required to render unto your Majesty " some testimony of the said William Bedel who was " long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my " first employment there, I am bound in all con- " science and truth—so far as your Majesty will " vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment—to affirm of " him, that I think hardly a fitter man for that " charge could have been propounded unto your " Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular " erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the " Church, and zeal to advance the cause of God, " wherein his travails abroad were not obscure in the " time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

" For it may please your Majesty to know, that " this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may " say, into his very soul, with whom he did com- " municate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from " whom he professed to have received more know- " ledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, " than from any that he had ever practised in his " days; of which all the passages were well known " to the King your Father, of most blessed memory. " And so with your Majesty's good favour, I will " end this needless office; for the general fame of " his learning, his life, and Christian temper, and " those religious labours which himself hath dedi- " cated to your Majesty, do better describe him than " I am able.

" Your Majesty's
" Most humble and faithful servant,
" H. Wotton."

To this letter I shall add this: that he was—to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton—made Governor of the said college (Aug. 1627); and that, after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore (Sept. 3, 1629). In both places his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians: for as they, so he kept all the Ember-weeks, observed—besides his private devotions—the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother, the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such, as shewed his affections were set upon things that are above; for indeed his whole life brought forth the fruits of the spirit; there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a Bishop, "That "he have a good report of those that be without" (1 Tim. iii. 7); so had he: for those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Roman persuasion—of which there were very many in his diocese—did yet—such is the power of visible piety—ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and testified it by a concealing, and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons; and yet, there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison (1642). And with him was lost many of his learned writings which were thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years' labour, and conference, and

study, he had translated into the Irish tongue, with an intent to have printed it for public use.

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's first Chaplain; and much of his second Chaplain, Isaac Bargrave, Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of Canterbury; as also of the merits of many others that had the happiness to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments; but the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton College, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the "Life of Martin Luther," and in it the "History of "the Reformation," as it was carried on in Germany: for the doing of which he had many advantages by his several Embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several Princes of the Empire; by whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as was well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late reverend Bishop of Salisbury. But in the midst of this design, his late Majesty King Charles the First, that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did, by a persuasive loving violence, to which may be added a promise of 500*l.* a year, force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the History of England; in which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few Kings, as a foundation

upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the Sixth, the founder of that College, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being. But Sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination and the employment of his time in the College, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained; he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his foreign employments, for which his just arrears due from the King would have made satisfaction; but being still delayed with court promises, and finding some decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire that none should be a loser by him, make his last Will; concerning which a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit or conscionable policy. But there is no doubt but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony, and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand:—

"In the name of God Almighty and All-merciful,

"I, Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's Col-
"lege by Eton, being mindful of mine own mor-
"tality, which the sin of our first parents did bring
"upon all flesh, do by this last Will and Testament
"thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I
"shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to
"the Immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord
"Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator,
"through His all sole-sufficient satisfaction for the
"sins of the whole world, and efficient for His elect;
"in the number of whom I am one by His mere
"grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by
"His Holy Spirit, the true eternal Comforter. My
"body I bequeath to the earth, if I should end my
"transitory days at or near Eton, to be buried in
"the Chapel of the said College, as the Fellows
"shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived, my
"God knows, in all loving affection; or if I shall
"die near Boeton Malherbe, in the county of Kent,
"then I wish to be laid in that parish Church, as
"near as may be to the sepulchre of my good
"father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him
"in the day of Christ."

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly: and considering that time moulders even marble to dust, for monuments themselves must die; therefore did he, waiving the common way, think fit rather to preserve his name, to which the son of Sirach adviseth all men, by a useful apophthegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both

which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence to discover his disposition, and preserve his memory.

It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:—

Hic jacet hujus Sententiæ primus Author:

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

Nomen alias quære.

Which may be Englished thus:—

Here lies the first Author of this sentence:

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE

THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

Inquire his Name elsewhere.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence; but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, "Nothing can be spoken that hath "not been spoken: for there is no new thing under "the sun." But grant that in his various reading he had met with this, or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all readers to believe that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to public view and censure of every critic. And ques-

tionless it will be charity in all readers to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and that, in this sacred ecstacy, his thoughts were then only of the Church Triumphant, into which he daily expected his admission; and that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the Church Militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous and more destructive to humble piety; and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and where, our reverend Hooker says, "former simplicity and softness of spirit is not "now to be found, because zeal hath drowned cha- "rity, skill, and meekness." It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph: the rest of his will follows in his own words:

"Further, I, the said Henry Wotton, do consti- "tute and ordain to be joint executors of this my "last will and testament, my two grand-nephews, "Albert Morton, second son to Sir Robert Morton, "Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, "eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, "husband to my right virtuous and only niece. "And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and "Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen "friends, together with Mr. John Harrison, one of "the Fellows of Eton College, best acquainted with

" my books and pictures, and other utensils, to be " supervisors of this my last will and testament. " And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave and Mr. " Nicholas Pey to be solicitors for such arrearages " as shall appear due unto me from his Majesty's " Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist " my forenamed executors in some reasonable and " conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and dis- " charge of my legacies now specified; or that shall " be hereafter added unto this my testament by any " codicil or schedule, or left in the hands, or in any " memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison. " And first, to my most dear Sovereign and master, " of incomparable goodness, in whose gracious opi- " nion I have ever had some portion, as far as the " interest of a plain honest man, I leave four pic- " tures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose " time I was there employed, with their names " written on the back side, which hang in my great " ordinary dining-room, done after the life by " Edoardo Fialetto: likewise a table of the Vene- " tian College, where Ambassadors had their au- " dience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney " in the said room, done by the same hand, which " containeth a draught in little, well resembling the " famous Duke Leonardo Donato, in a time which " needed a wise and constant man. Item. The " picture of a Duke of Venice, hanging over against " the door, done either by Titiano, or some other " principal hand, long before my time. Most hum- " bly beseeching his Majesty that the said pieces " may remain in some corner of any of his houses " for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

" Item. I leave his said Majesty all the papers and

" negociations of Sir Nich. Throgmorton, Knight,
" during his famous employment under Queen Eli-
" zabeth, in Scotland and in France; which contain
" divers secrets of State that perchance his Majesty
" will think fit to be preserved in his paper-office,
" after they have been perused and sorted by Mr.
" Secretary Windebank, with whom I have hereto-
" fore, as I remember, conferred about them. They
" were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur
" Throgmorton, his son, to whose worthy memory I
" cannot better discharge my faith than by assigning
" them to the highest place of trust. Item. I leave to
" our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dios-
" corides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the
" text translated by Matthiolo, in the best language
" of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally de-
" scended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion,
" for the honour she was once pleased to do my
" private study with her presence. I leave to the
" most hopeful Prince, the picture of the elected and
" crowned Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and
" resplendent virtues, through the clouds of her
" fortune. To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury now
" being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely
" copied from one in the King's galleries, of my
" presentation to his Majesty; beseeching him to
" receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to
" his great wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord
" Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of Eng-
" land, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity
" and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture
" of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing
" at the world; most humbly beseeching the said
" Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop

" of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in
" my life-time, to intercede with our most gracious
" Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus
" Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my
" long services,—wherein I more studied the public
" honour than mine own utility—some order may
" be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer,
" for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those
" whom I have ordained supervisors of this my
" last will and testament shall present unto their
" lordships, without their further trouble: hoping
" likewise in his Majesty's most indubitable good-
" ness, that he will keep me from all prejudice,
" which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of
" formality in the demand of my said arrears. To
" —— for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave, as
" emblems of his attractive virtues and obliging
" nobleness, my great loadstone, and a piece of
" amber, of both kinds naturally united, and only
" differing in degree of concoction, which is thought
" somewhat rare. Item, a piece of chrystal sex-
" angular—as they grow all—grasping divers several
" things within it, which I bought among the Rhæ-
" tian Alps, in the very place where it grew; recom-
" mending most humbly unto his Lordship, the
" reputation of my poor name in the point of my
" debts, as I have done to the forenamed Spiritual
" Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better
" token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured
" person. Item, I leave to Sir Francis Windebank,
" one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State
" —whom I found my great friend in point of
" necessity—the four Seasons of old Bassano, to
" hang near the eye in his parlour—being in little

" form—which I bought at Venice, where I first " entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

" To the above-named Dr. Bargrave, Dean of " Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not dis- " posed in this will. I leave to him likewise my " Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me " in Italy, in which country I first contracted with " him an unremoveable affection. To my other super- " visor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my chest, or cabi- " net of instruments and engines of all kinds of uses: " in the lower box whereof, are some fit to be be- " queathed to none but so entire an honest man as " he is;"—(in it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel;)— " I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in " the solicitation of my arrears; and am sorry that " my ragged estate can reach no further to one " that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, " during all my foreign employments. To the " library of Eton College, I leave all my manuscripts " not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a " plain ring of gold, enamelled black, all save the " verge, with this motto within, *Amor unit omnia.*

" This is my last will and testament, save what " shall be added by a schedule thereunto an- " nexed, written on the first of October, in the " present year of our Redemption, 1637, and sub- " scribed by myself, with the testimony of these " witnesses,

" Henry Wotton.

" Nich. Oudert,
" Geo. Lash."

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies: by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the king—than whom none was more willing—conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton Hall, where he would say, "He found a cure for all cares, by the cheerful "company, which he called the living furniture of "that place: and a restoration of his strength, by "the connaturalness of that which he called his "genial air."

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester College, to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester towards Eton College, said to a friend, his companion in that journey; "How useful was "that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his "friend to perform his customary devotions in a "constant place, because in that place we usually "meet with those very thoughts which possessed us "at our last being there! And I find it thus far "experimentally true, that at my now being in that "school, and seeing that very place where I sat "when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember "those very thoughts of my youth which then pos-"sessed me: sweet thoughts indeed, that promised "my growing years numerous pleasures, without

" mixtures of cares: and those to be enjoyed, when " time—which I therefore thought slow-paced—had " changed my youth into manhood. But age and " experience have taught me that those were but " empty hopes; for I have always found it true, as " my Saviour did foretell, 'sufficient for the day is " the evil thereof.' Nevertheless, I saw there a " succession of boys using the same recreations, and, " questionless, possessed with the same thoughts " that then possessed me. Thus one generation " succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, " hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Winchester to Eton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative: in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales—learned Mr. John Hales—then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose: "I have, in my passage to my grave, met " with most of those joys of which a discoursive soul " is capable; and been entertained with more inferior " pleasures than the sons of men are usually made " partakers of: nevertheless, in this voyage I have " not always floated on the calm sea of content; but " have often met with cross winds and storms, and " with many troubles of mind and temptations to " evil. And yet, though I have been, and am a man " compassed about with human frailties, Almighty " God hath by His grace prevented me from making " shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, the " thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and " I most humbly praise Him for it; and I humbly " acknowledge that it was not myself, but He that " hath kept me to this great age, and let Him take

"the glory of His great mercy. And, my dear "friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of "death; that harbour that will secure me from all "the future storms and waves of this restless world; "and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and "expect a better; that world wherein dwelleth "righteousness; and I long for it!"

These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma, or short spitting: but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they, and those other common infirmities that accompany age, were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him,—came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness; of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the busy part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed

to foretell that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed, to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever; in the tenth fit of which fever, his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester School, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy and second year of his age, at Eton College; where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain gravestone over him: dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the service of his prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen, to have preserved his memory, and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

Iz. Wa.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER:

THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

" Judicious Hooker, though this cost be spent
" On him, that hath a lasting monument
" In his own books; yet ought we to express
" If not his worth, yet our respectfulness."

SIR WIL. COWPER.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded, by a friend whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write the Life of RICHARD HOOKER, the happy Author of five—if not more—of the eight learned books of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness: because I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death,—now sixty-four years past—but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth; and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me,—for I consider the age in which I live—and shall therefore but entreat of my reader a suspension of his censures, till I have made known unto him

some reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity, and this is all I can probably hope for. My reasons follow.

About forty years past—for I am now past the seventieth of my age—I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer,—now with God,—grand-nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom friend and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in the following discourse, as also George Cranmer, their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer and his two fore-named sisters had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship, with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Bourne, near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I say, a part of their education with him, as myself since that time, a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his

time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Usher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales, of Eton College; and with them also—who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker—I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness, for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend: in the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

THE

LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

IT is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree, near, or within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter; a city which may justly boast, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our Redemption 1553, and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony, and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and

government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion—if we may guess by him at the age of forty—was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed,—so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time,—that at his being a school-boy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive "why this was, "and that was not, to be remembered? why this was "granted, and that denied?" This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed Divine Light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better, age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his school-master, caused him to persuade his parents—who intended him for an apprentice—to continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of His glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing

him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child, and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the meantime his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God; of an early belief that He knows the very secrets of our souls; that He punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's Blessed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good school-master, whose name I am not able to recover,—and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar, —was very solicitous with John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college, though it were but in a mean de-

gree; still urging and assuring him, that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed by him, and with the assistance of the learned Mr. John Jewel; of whom this may be noted, that he left, or was about the first of Queen Mary's reign expelled out of Corpus Christi College in Oxford,— of which he was a fellow,—for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented and given testimony in the days of her brother and predecessor, Edward the Sixth; and this John Jewel, having within a short time after, a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and with him many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor, of the Churches of the western parts of this

kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

About the second or third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to his willingness; this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom Nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman, for he was a boy of remarkable hopes. And though the bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his school-master should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place: which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave his schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents; promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment, which he performed; for about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then President of Corpus Christi College. Which he did; and Dr. Cole had—according to a promise made to the bishop—provided for him both a tutor—which was

said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds,—and a clerk's place in that college: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet, with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost; and even like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age, he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as Monica the mother of St. Augustine did, that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and as often pray that "he might never live to occasion any "sorrow to so good a mother; of whom he would "often say, he loved her so dearly, that he would "endeavour to be good, even as much for her's as "for his own sake."

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his com-

panion dine with him at his own table: which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which, when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him: and at Richard's return the bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse, "which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank "God, with much ease;" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but "lend you my horse: be sure you be honest, and "bring my horse back to me at your return this "way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten "groats, to bear your charges to Exeter; and here "is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver "to your mother, and tell her I send her a bishop's "benediction with it, and beg the continuance of "her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse "back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to "carry you on foot to the college; and so God bless "you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which happy change may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, "Whether his last ejaculations "or his soul, did first enter into heaven?"

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear for his future subsistence. But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him 'go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him he should neither want food nor raiment—which was the utmost of his hopes—for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer; for about that time this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys—sometime Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York—had also been in the days of Queen Mary, forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where, for some years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in September, 1571. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was: for the bishop said, "I will have a tutor for my son, "that shall teach him learning by instruction, and "virtue by example: and my greatest care shall be "of the last; and, God willing, this Richard Hooker

"shall be the man into whose hands I will commit "my Edwin." And the bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the university; and had, by a constant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted studies, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his restless industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils—which in time were many—but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hooker's learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to

repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary, was his behaviour in his college: and thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and so admitted as born in Devon, or Hantshire; out of which counties a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes. And now as he was much encouraged, so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory that it had Cardinal Poole, but more that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, of that foundation. The first famous for his learned "Apology for the Church of England," and his defence of it against Harding. The second, for the learned and wise menage of a public dispute with John Hart, of the Romish persuasion, about

the Head and Faith of the Church, and after printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent "Exposition of the Creed," and other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was Dr. Jackson more note-worthy for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love, and meekness, and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's Grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of note for learning, being then Vice-Chancellor: and the Act following he was completed Master, which was anno 1577, his patron Dr. Cole, being Vice-Chancellor that year, and his dear friend, Henry Savile of Merton College, being then one of the Proctors. 'Twas that Henry Savile, that after was Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, and Provost of Eton; he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

It was that Sir Henry Savile that translated and enlightened the History of Cornelius Tacitus, with a most excellent Comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savile that had the happiness to be a contemporary and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker; and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted Fellow of the College; happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr.

Spencer; both which were after, and successively made Presidents of Corpus Christi College: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "Speculum Europæ," as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable Travels; and for his harmonious translation of the Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden, of Fynes Moryson, and others.

"This Cranmer," says Mr. Camden in his "Annals "of Queen Elizabeth,"—"whose Christian name "was George, was a gentleman of singular hopes, "the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund "Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother: he spent "much of his youth in Corpus Christi College in "Oxford, where he continued Master of Arts for "some time before he removed, and then betook "himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentle-"man Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, "and Italy, for the space of three years; and after "their happy return, he betook himself to an em-"ployment under Secretary Davison, a Privy Coun-"cillor of note, who, for an unhappy undertaking, "became clouded and pitied: after whose fall, he "went in place of Secretary with Sir Henry Kille-

"grew in his embassage into France: and after his "death he was sought after by the most noble Lord "Mountjoy, with whom he went into Ireland, where "he remained, until in a battle against the rebels "near Carlingford, an unfortunate wound put an "end both to his life, and the great hopes that were "conceived of him, he being then but in the thirty-"sixth year of his age."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in an university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not. And in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: and as the holy Prophet saith, so "they took "sweet counsel together, and walked in the house "of God as friends." By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity, as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it shall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship, yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the college and Mr. Hooker to his studies, in which he was daily more assiduous, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both

sacred and civil; and indeed with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And, as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's Spirit revealed to mankind in the Sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same Spirit with which they were written; He that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, that "God abhors confusion as contrary to His nature;" and as often say, "That the Scripture was not writ "to beget disputations and pride, and opposition to "government; but charity and humility, moderation, "obedience to authority, and peace to mankind;" of which virtues, he would as often say, "no man "did ever repent himself on his death-bed." And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony in what will follow.

In the year 1579, the Chancellor of the University was given to understand, that the public Hebrew lecture was not read according to the statutes, nor could be, by reason of a distemper that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill, who was to read it; so that it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language. Therefore the Chancellor writ to his Vice-Chancellor, and the University, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard

Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it: and he did, and continued to do so till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this lecture—namely, in October, 1579—he was, with Dr. Reynolds and others expelled his college; and this letter, transcribed from Dr. Reynolds his own hand, may give some account of it.

"To Sir Francis Knolles.

"I am sorry, Right Honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, which I cannot move, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our college, who hath taken upon him, against all law and reason, to expel out of our house both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which by oath we were bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the Bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forasmuch as some of our adversaries have said that the Bishop is already forestalled, and will not give us such audience as we look for; therefore I am humbly to beseech your honour, that you will desire the Bishop, by your letters, to let us have justice; though it be with rigour, so it be justice: our cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your honour for Corpus Christi College sake, or rather for Christ's sake; whom I beseech to bless you with daily increase of His manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of His Holy Spirit.

"Your Honour's in Christ to command,

"London, October 9, 1579. John Reynolds."

This expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote, then vice-president of the college, and chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but, that they were restored the same month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his college, where he continued his studies with all quietness, for the space of three years; about which time he entered into Sacred Orders, being then made deacon and priest, and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamite's House; which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling Street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour; for he was a virtuous man. I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse —supposing the horse trotted when he did not;— and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's ser-

mon: but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in, or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon; which was, "That in God there were two wills; an "antecedent and a consequent will: His first will, "That all mankind should be saved; but His second "will was, That those only should be saved, that did "live answerable to that degree of grace which He "had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion intrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against—as Mr. Hooker declares in his rational "Answer to Mr. Travers"—by John Elmer, then Bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, "that he was a man

" of a tender constitution; and that it was best for " him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to " him; such a one as might both prolong his life, " and make it more comfortable; and such a one " she could and would provide for him, if he thought " fit to marry." And he, not considering that "the " children of this world are wiser in their generation " than the children of light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with—you may read it in the book of Genesis—when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that, or about the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion: and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house: so that the good man had no reason to "rejoice in the wife of his youth;" but too just cause to say with the holy prophet, "Wo is me, that I am constrained to have my habi- " tation in the tents of Kedar!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's—if it were his choice —may be wondered at: but let us consider that the Prophet Ezekiel says, "There is a wheel within a " wheel;" a secret sacred wheel of Providence—most visible in marriages—guided by His hand, that " allows not the race to the swift," nor "bread to " the wise," nor good wives to good men: and He that can bring good out of evil—for mortals are blind to this reason—only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses, and to

our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the reader cease to wonder, for affliction is a divine diet; which though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often, imposed it as good, though bitter physic, to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage; which was Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, not far from Aylesbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln; to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq.—then patron of it—the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God—"in much "patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessi-"ties, in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering;" yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, took a journey to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand—it was the Odes of Horace—he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. But when his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their

best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition; and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good "tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better "ground, as to your parsonage; and more sorry "that your wife proves not a more comfortable "companion, after you have wearied yourself in your "restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double "share in the miseries of this life, I, that am none, "ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath "appointed for me: but labour—as indeed I do "daily—to submit mine to His will, and possess my "soul in patience and peace."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, Mr. Alvey—Master of the Temple—died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour,

as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvey. And at the Temple-reading, next after the death of this Father Alvey, he, the said Archbishop of York, being then at dinner with the Judges, the Reader, and the Benchers of that society, met with a general condolement for the death of Father Alvey, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both towards God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvey's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Drayton-Beauchamp to London, and there the Mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantages of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might see God's blessings spring out of the earth, and be free from noise—so he expressed the desire of his heart—and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the bishop's proposal; and was by patent for life—(this you may find in the Temple records)—made Master of the Temple, the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age.

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place; a place which he accepted rather than desired: and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for, that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises. For this he always thirsted and prayed: but Almighty God did not grant it; for his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties which till then this good man was a stranger to, and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the Crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them, or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers, begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the Church and State; believing there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends: and these begot animosities,

envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign; and thus it continued too long; for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a Reformation from the Church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more; neglecting to pay that obedience, and perform those vows, which they made in their days of adversities and fear: so that in short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs: they may for distinction be called, the active Romanists, the restless Non-conformists—of which there were many sorts—and the passive peaceable Protestants. The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome; the second, both in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there and within the bosom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil: and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying, what was by those known laws, happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the Church and State; because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the opinions and activity of the Non-conformists: against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last,

but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Non-conformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet of this party there were many that were possessed with a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate restless pride and malice; I do not mean the visible carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like—from which, good Lord, deliver us!—but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love, and mercy, and order, and peace: and more like the Devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a Devil: but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to government: men that joyed to be the authors of misery, which is properly his work that is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton or drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party there were also many whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded, as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace: men that were the very dregs and pest of mankind; men whom pride and a self-conceit had made to over-value their own pitiful crooked wisdom so much, as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then speak evil of government, and to be the authors of confusion; men whom com-

pany, and conversation, and custom had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that like those that perished in the gainsaying of Korah, so these died without repenting of these spiritual wickednesses; of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are, God knows, too sad examples, and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like spiritual wickednesses.

And in these times which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruple-mongers, that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate: and yet these very men in their secret conventicles did covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the Presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on; but up that government must. To which end there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the Church and State, but especially against the bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as to believe the bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructers of God's discipline! and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword. So that those very men that began with tender and meek

petitions, proceeded to admonitions: then to satirical remonstrances: and at last—having, like Absalom, numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause—they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and then the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth House.

And to these undertakings the Non-conformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland: so that here they became so bold, that one (Mr. Dering) told the Queen openly in a sermon, "She was like an untamed heifer, that "would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed "His discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident; for there (vide Bishop Spotswood's "His-"tory of the Church of Scotland") they declared her an atheist, and grew to such an height, as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her, nor for treason against their own King, if it were but spoken in the pulpit; shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress and in prison, and in danger of death, the Church denied the King their prayers for her; and

at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, the Church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people, such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the Church and State: and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the Church and State were forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, and considering them, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose; "That the com-
"mon people of England were wiser than the wisest
"of his nation; for here the very women and shop-
"keepers were able to judge of predestination, and
"to determine what laws were fit to be made con-
"cerning church-government; and then, what were
"fit to be obeyed or abolished. That they were
"more able—or at least thought so—to raise and
"determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the
"wisest of the most learned colleges in Italy! That
"men of the slightest learning, and the most igno-
"rant of the common people, were mad for a new,
"or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that
"in this they appeared like that man, who would

"never cease to whet and whet his knife, till "there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "That "those very men that were most busy in oppositions, "and disputations, and controversies, and finding "out the faults of their governors, had usually the "least of humility and mortification, or of the "power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of His Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not believe, into a belief, which is repugnant even to human nature;—for the heathens believe that there are many gods;—but these had sinned themselves into a belief that there was no God! and so, finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish that they were not able to hope for, namely, "That they might be like the "beasts that perish!" and in wicked company—which is the atheist's sanctuary—were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the Church was pestered with them, and with all those other fore-named irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies

as do usually attend that sin:—for heresies do usually out-live their first authors;—when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied: when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others: when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority:—in this extremity of fear, and danger of the Church and State, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift, his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton—that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age,—gives this true character; "That he was a man of reverend and sacred me-"mory, and of the primitive temper; such a temper, "as when the Church by lowliness of spirit did "flourish in highest examples of virtue." And indeed this man proved so.

And though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of Sir Henry Wotton; yet I shall neither do right in this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln,

of a family that was ancient; and noted to be both prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke Hall,—where Mr. Bradford the Martyr was his tutor;—from thence he was removed to Peter House; from thence to be Master of Pembroke Hall; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity College. About which time the Queen made him her chaplain; and not long after Prebend of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishoprick of Worcester, and—which was not with her a usual favour—forgiving him his first fruits; then by constituting him Vice-President of the Principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the menage of her affairs in both these places, she, in the twenty-sixth of her reign, 1583, made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and, not long after, of her Privy Council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes he was like the ark, which left a blessing on the place where it rested; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares: in which place—to speak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth—"he devoutly consecrated both "his whole life to God, and his painful labours to "the good of His Church."

And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of Church affairs, which were

much disordered at his entrance by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindal, his immediate predecessor, the activity of the Non-conformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage, nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach, that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the Church, or indeed to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa,—"Agrippa, believest thou? I "know thou believest," he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him were such, that she called him "her little black "husband," and called "his servants her servants:" and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the Church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor; of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was, that "she would never eat "flesh in Lent, without obtaining a licence from "her little black husband:" and would often say "she pitied him because she trusted him, and had "thereby eased herself by laying the burthen of all "her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which he "managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and his care of the Church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an Act or Acts of Parliament, intending the better preservation of the Church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the Crown: and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one; and the Bishop having, by his interest with her Majesty, put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the Bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty,—for he found her alone—and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose.

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, "and to believe that your's and the Church's safety "are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience "dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to "do my duty, and tell you, that princes are deputed "nursing fathers of the Church, and owe it a pro- "tection; and therefore God forbid that you should "be so much as passive in her ruin, when you may "prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror "and detestation; or should forbear to tell your "Majesty of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And

" though you and myself are born in an age of
" frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the
" Church's lands and immunities are much decayed;
" yet, madam, let me beg that you would first con-
" sider that there are such sins as profaneness and
" sacrilege: and that, if there were not, they could
" not have names in Holy Writ, and particularly in
" the New Testament. And I beseech you to con-
" sider, that though our Saviour said, 'He judged
" 'no man;' and, to testify it, would not judge nor
" divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren,
" nor would judge the woman taken in adultery,
" yet in this point of the Church's rights He was
" so zealous, that He made Himself both the Accuser,
" and the Judge, and the Executioner too, to punish
" these sins: witnessed, in that He Himself made the
" whip to drive the profaners out of the Temple,
" overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and
" drove them out of it. And I beseech you to con-
" sider that it was St. Paul that said to those
" Christians of his time that were offended with
" idolatry, and yet committed sacrilege; 'Thou that
" 'abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?'
" supposing, I think, sacrilege the greater sin. This
" may occasion your Majesty to consider, that there
" is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to
" prevent the curse that will follow it, I beseech you
" also to consider, that Constantine, the first Chris-
" tian emperor, and Helena his mother; that King
" Edgar, and Edward the Confessor; and indeed
" many others of your predecessors, and many pri-
" vate Christians, have also given to God, and to His
" Church, much land, and many immunities, which
" they might have given to those of their own

" families, and did not; but gave them for ever as " an absolute right and sacrifice to God: and with " these immunities and lands they have entailed a " curse upon the alienators of them: God prevent " your Majesty and your successors from being liable " to that curse, which will cleave unto Church-lands " as the leprosy to the Jews.

" And to make you, that are trusted with their " preservation, the better to understand the danger " of it, I beseech you forget not, that, to prevent " these curses, the Church's land and power have " been also endeavoured to be preserved, as far as " human reason and the law of this nation have " been able to preserve them, by an immediate and " most sacred obligation on the consciences of the " princes of this realm. For they that consult " Magna Charta shall find, that as all your prede- " cessors were at their coronation, so you also were " sworn before all the nobility and bishops then pre- " sent, and in the presence of God, and in His stead " to him that anointed you, to maintain the Church- " lands and the rights belonging to it: and this you " yourself have testified openly to God at the holy " Altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying " upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many " modern statutes have denounced a curse upon " those that break Magna Charta; a curse like the " leprosy, that was entailed on the Jews: for as " that, so these curses have, and will cleave to the " very stones of those buildings that have been con- " secrated to God; and the father's sin of sacrilege " hath, and will prove to be entailed on his son and " family. And now, madam, what account can be " given for the breach of this oath at the Last

" Great Day, either by your Majesty, or by me, if " it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know " not.

" And therefore, good madam, let not the late " lord's exceptions against the failings of some few " clergymen, prevail with you to punish posterity for " the errors of the present age; let particular men " suffer for their particular errors; but let God and " His Church have their inheritance: and though I " pretend not to prophecy, yet I beg posterity to take " notice of what is already become visible in many " families; that Church-land added to an ancient " and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth " fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both: " or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, " and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed " both her young eagles and herself that stole it. " And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully " of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that " a part of the Church's rights, added to the vast " treasures left him by his father, hath been con- " ceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon " both, notwithstanding all his diligency to preserve " them.

" And consider, that after the violation of those " laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God " did so far deny him His restraining grace, that as " King Saul, after he was forsaken of God, fell from " one sin to another; so he, till at last he fell into " greater sins than I am willing to mention. Ma- " dam, religion is the foundation and cement of " human societies; and when they that serve at " God's Altar shall be exposed to poverty, then reli- " gion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become

" contemptible; as you may already observe it to be " in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And " therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of par- " liament, entrusted with a great power to preserve " or waste the Church-lands; yet dispose of them, " for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to men, and " vowed to God, that is, as the donors intended: let " neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do " otherwise; but put a stop to God's and the Le- " vite's portion, I beseech you, and to the approach- " ing ruins of His Church, as you expect comfort at " the Last Great Day; for Kings must be judged. " Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear " sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in " your favour; and the Lord still continue you in " His."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, and her future care to preserve the Church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the Church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years; in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so

that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining Church-lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eased her of all her Church-cares by his wise menage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that, within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James—her peaceful successor—was heir to the Crown.

Let me beg of my reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the bishop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alms-house near to his own palace at Croydon in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters:

and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth,—which was very often,—he would usually the next day show the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars. Which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the bishop's death, to say, "the bishop had published many "learned books; but a free-school to train up youth, "and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and "poor people, were the best evidences of Christian "learning that a bishop could leave to posterity." This good bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell into an extreme sickness at his palace in Lambeth; of which when the King had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition and very weak: and after some short discourse betwixt them, the King at his departure assured him, "He had a "great affection for him, and a very high value for "his prudence and virtues, and would endeavour to "beg his life of God for the good of His Church." To which the good bishop replied, "*Pro Ecclesia* "*Dei! Pro Ecclesia Dei!*" which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's Church.

This John Whitgift was made Archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time

you may believe he had many trials of his courage and patience: but his motto was "*Vincit qui pati-*"*tur;*" and he made it good.

Many of his trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still—but secretly—raise and cherish a faction of Non-conformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning, sometime contemporary with the Bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college of which the Bishop had been master: in which place there began some emulations,—the particulars I forbear,—and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the University can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the Earl's death,—which was 1588,—Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva Church-government; and, to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life, appearing at the last to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed, and to which the Bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the Bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was, or was persuaded to be, satisfied, for he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the Bishop many personal favours and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and where the Bishop gave him a licence to preach,

upon promises not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Bishop surviving him but some few months; each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers,—a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's —as the Bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself, and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the Bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith, which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not: men that were become positive in asserting, "That a papist cannot be saved:" insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the bishop that preached her funeral sermon—which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough—was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to His mercies, there was not only one Martin Mar-Prelate, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all,

who was a man of sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these, or like titles: "An Almond for a Parrot;" "A Fig for my Godson;" "Come crack me this "Nut," and the like; so that this merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities, as—which is strange—he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvey, who was Master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of a winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the Presbytery in Antwerp,—and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated, —and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation; for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be Master of it; and

his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them in their sermons: many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this Church: insomuch that, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons: for, as one hath pleasantly expressed it, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury;' and the "afternoon Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent Archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers his preaching, by a positive prohibition. Against which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned her Majesty's Privy Council to have it recalled; where, besides his patron, the Earl of Leicester, he met also with many assisting friends: but they were not able to prevail with, or against the Archbishop, whom the Queen had intrusted with all Church-power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers, was unpleasant to divers of his party; and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them, and many others of that party, as never to be answered: so that, intending the Bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear, and make as public an answer; which he

did, and dedicated it to the Archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the Bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a familiar friendship with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented,—all, or most of which I have seen written,—would prove at least tedious: and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "That the "assurance of what we believe by the Word of God, "is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by "sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

"First; I taught that the things which God pro- "mises in His Word are surer than what we touch, "handle, or see: but are we so sure and certain of "them? If we be, why doth God so often prove "His promises to us as He doth, by arguments drawn "from our sensible experience? For we must be "surer of the proof than of the things proved; "otherwise it is no proof. For example; how is it "that many men looking on the moon at the same "time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as cer- "tainly as the other doth? but many believing one "and the same promise, have not all one and the "same fulness of persuasion? For how falleth it

" out, that men being assured of any thing by sense,
" can be no surer of it than they are; when as the
" strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth hath
" always need to labour, strive, and pray, that his
" assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things
" may grow, increase, and be augmented?"

The sermon, that gave him the cause of this his justification, makes the case more plain, by declaring " That there is, besides this certainty of evidence, a " certainty of adherence." In which having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it, " Comfortable," he says, " as to weak believers, who " suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, " when notwithstanding they have their adherence; " the Holy Spirit hath His private operations, and " worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, " though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that, by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself; I do not, I know I do not believe.—Mr. Hooker's own words follow.—" Well then, to " favour such men a little in their weakness, let " that be granted which they do imagine; be it, " that they adhere not to God's promises, but are " faithless, and without belief: but are they not " grieved for their unbelief? They confess they " are; do they not wish it might, and also strive " that it may be otherwise? We know they do. " Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and

"liking, that they have of those things believed? "For no man can love those things which in his "own opinion are not; and if they think those "things to be, which they show they love, when "they desire to believe them; then must it be, that, "by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true "believers: for without faith no man thinketh that "things believed are: which argument all the sub- "tleties of infernal powers will never be able to dis- "solve." This is an abridgement of part of the reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his sermons had declared, "That "he doubted not but that God was merciful to many "of our forefathers living in Popish superstition, for "as much as they sinned ignorantly;" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first, he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way, which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus;—they be his own words that follow:—"That, the way of Nature; this, the "way of Grace; the end of that way, Salvation "merited, pre-supposing the righteousness of men's

" works; their righteousness, a natural ability to do " them; that ability, the goodness of God, which " created them in such perfection. But the end of " this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: " pre-supposing not their righteousness, but the for- " giveness of their unrighteousness, justification; " their justification, not their natural ability to do " good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and " unfeigned belief in Him, for whose sake not-doers " are accepted, which is their vocation; their voca- " tion, the election of God, taking them out of the " number of lost children: their election, a mediator " in whom to be elected; this mediation, inexpli- " cable mercy: this mercy, supposing their misery " for whom He vouchsafed to die, and make Him- " self a Mediator."

And he also declareth, "There is no meritorious " cause for our justification, but Christ: no effectual, " but His mercy;" and says also, "We deny the " grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disan- " nul and annihilate the benefit of His Passion, if by " a proud imagination we believe we can merit ever- " lasting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief, he declareth, is to destroy the very essence of our justification; and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet nevertheless," —and for this he was accused,—"considering how " many virtuous and just men, how many saints " and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, " amongst which this was one, that they hoped to " make God some part of amends, by voluntary " punishments which they laid upon themselves: " because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, " which do by consequence overthrow the merits of

"Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their "graves, 'Such men are damned; there is for them "'no salvation?' St. Austin says, *Errare possum, "hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a differ- "ence betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them "that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible "that any man should hope to be saved? Give me "a Pope or Cardinal, whom great afflictions have "made to know himself, whose heart God hath "touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled "with a love of Christ and His Gospel; whose eyes "are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth "ready to renounce all error,—this one opinion of "merit excepted, which he thinketh God will re- "quire at his hands;—and because he wanteth, "trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, "Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins! shall I "think, because of this, or a like error, such men "touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? "If they do, wherefore should I doubt, but that "virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? "No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, 'You "err in your opinion; but be of good comfort; you "have to do with a merciful God, who will make "the best of that little which you hold well; and "not with a captious sophister, who gathereth the "worst out of everything in which you are mis- "taken."

But it will be said, says Mr. Hooker, the admittance of merit in any degree overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation. (And now Mr. Hooker's own words follow.)

"What, though they hold the truth sincerely in

" all other parts of Christian faith? although they
" have in some measure all the virtues and graces of
" the Spirit, although they have all other tokens of
" God's children in them? although they be far
" from having any proud opinion, that they shall be
" saved by the worthiness of their deeds? although
" the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them
" be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great
" a fear arising from an erroneous conceit, that God
" will require a worthiness in them, which they are
" grieved to find wanting in themselves? although
" they be not obstinate in this opinion? although
" they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if
" any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove
" it? although the only cause why they do not for-
" sake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that
" means by which it might be disproved? although
" the cause why the ignorance in this point is not
" removed, be the want of knowledge in such as
" should be able, and are not, to remove it? Let
" me die," says Mr. Hooker, "if it be ever proved,
" that simply an error doth exclude a Pope or Car-
" dinal in such a case utterly from hope of life.
" Surely, I must confess, that if it be an error to
" think that God may be merciful to save men, even
" when they err, my greatest comfort is my error:
" were it not for the love I bear to this error, I
" would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that, as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my reader; as also for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made

against him by Mr. Travers, as "That he prayed "before, and not after, his sermons; that in his "prayers he named bishops; that he kneeled, both "when he prayed, and when he received the Sacra-"ment;" and—says Mr. Hooker in his Defence—"other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I "should have thought a greater fault than to com-"mit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that, in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "your next argument consists of railing "and of reasons: to your railing I say nothing; to "your reasons I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man. And doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the Dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this Church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kissed each other, then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this Church and State had been blessed like Jerusalem, that is at unity with itself: but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief that schism is a sin, and they not fit to judge what is schism: and bless them also with a belief that there may be offences taken which are not given, and that laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey.

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker

proved to be *felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; and of his "Answer "to Mr. Travers his Supplication;" and of his most learned and useful "Discourse of Justification, of "Faith, and Works:" and by their transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were: and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his "Answer to the Peti- "tion of Mr. Travers," Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his Church discipline; insomuch that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness, of this humble man: for though the chief Benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Master Travers' judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief: and, that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate, sober treatise of the Church's power to make Canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in "Eight Books of the Law of Ecclesiastical Polity;" intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason, delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a

large preface, or Epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon: than which none ever was more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might, after his death, justly say, "What admirable height "of learning, and depth of judgment, dwelt in the "lowly mind of this truly humble man; great in "all wise men's eyes, except his own; with what "gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen "uttered heavenly mysteries; whose eyes, in the "humility of his heart, were always cast down to "the ground; how all things that proceeded from "him were breathed as from the Spirit of Love; as "if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the Dove, "had wanted gall: let those that knew him not in "his person, judge by these living images of his "soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; he therefore earnestly solicited the Archbishop for a remove from that place; to whom he spake to this purpose: "My Lord, when "I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my col-"lege, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet "country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise "and oppositions of this place; and indeed God and "Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for "study and quietness. My Lord, my particular "contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the "more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to

" be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned " me to examine mine own conscience concerning " his opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted " the Scripture, and other laws, both human and " divine, whether the conscience of him, and others " of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with, " as to alter our frame of Church-government, our " manner of God's worship, our praising and praying " to Him, and our established ceremonies, as often " as his, and other tender consciences shall require " us. And in this examination, I have not only " satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in " which I intend a justification of the Laws of our " Ecclesiastical Polity; in which design God and " His holy Angels shall at the last great day bear me " that witness which my conscience now does, that " my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to " satisfy all tender consciences; and I shall never be " able to do this but where I may study, and pray " for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep " myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's " blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat " my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, " if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, " let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have " begun."

About this time, the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that See—which was three years betwixt the translation of Bishop Pierce to the See of York, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it—the disposal of that, and all benefices belonging to that See, during this said vacancy,

came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury: and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in this said year instituted, July 17, to be a Minor Prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Haven, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he *continued till* he had finished four of his eight proposed books of "The Laws of Eccle- "siastical Polity," and these were entered into the Register-Book in Stationers' Hall, the 9th of March, 1592, but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before mentioned large and affectionate Preface, which he directs to them that seek—as they term it—the *reformation* of the Laws and Orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England; of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life—of all which more properly hereafter—but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell: and he presented Benjamin Russell, who was instituted into it the 23rd of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's Bourne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift: but in that latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro eâ vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good

living of Bourne, the 7th July, 1595; in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Bourne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next I am to tell, that at the end of these four books there was, when he first printed them, this advertisement to the reader. "I have for some "causes thought it at this time more fit to let go "these first four books by themselves, than to stay "both them and the rest, till the whole might to-"gether be published. Such generalities of the "cause in question as are here handled, it will be "perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of "introduction unto the books that are to follow "concerning particulars; in the mean time the "reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, "as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book—which is larger than his first four—was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron—for till then he chose none—the Archbishop.

These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton—both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed—meeting with this general

fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the reformed and the learned of their own Romish Church did so much magnify, and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome; and after reading them, boasted to the Pope—which then was Clement the Eighth—"That though he had lately "said, he never met with an English book whose "writer deserved the name of author; yet there "now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be "so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin: for a poor "obscure English priest had writ four such books of "Laws and Church polity, and in a style that ex-"pressed such a grave and so humble a majesty, "with such clear demonstration of reason, that in "all their readings they had not met with any that "exceeded him:" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not "searched into, nothing too hard for his under-"standing: this man indeed deserves the name of "an author: his books will get reverence by age; "for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if "the rest be like this, they shall last till the last "fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he enquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before

Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the King replied, "And I receive it with no less, that I shall "want the desired happiness of seeing and discours-"ing with that man, from whose books I have "received such satisfaction: indeed, my lord, I have "received more satisfaction in reading a leaf or para-"graph in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about "the fashion of churches, or church-music, or the "like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have "had in the reading particular large treatises writ-"ten but of one of those subjects by others, though "very learned men: and I observe there is in Mr. "Hooker no affected language; but a grave com-"prehensive, clear manifestation of reason, and that "backed with the authority of the Scripture, the "Fathers, and Schoolmen, and with all law both "sacred and civil. And though many others write "well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; "but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. "Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such "pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so "sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give "an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake, that, as the most learned of the nation have, and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of learned, or judicious, or reverend, or venerable Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious king, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary,

Mr. Camden, in his Annals, 1599, mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished "that, "for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, "they were turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earle, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say—and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live, and yet know him not—that since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker, and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy, in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Bourne; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then, or

about that time, made one of the Prebends of Canterbury; a German by birth, and sometime a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and sacrilege; and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers of the Low Countries; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three; one, of the "Degrees of Ministers," and of the "Bishops' "Superiority above the Presbytery;" a second, "Against Sacrilege;" and a third of "Christian "Obedience to Princes;" the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when, in a time of Church tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a Treatise of a threefold Episcopacy—which he calls divine, human, and satanical—this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that Treatise as it became public; and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more than that they were most of them dedicated to his, and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop; and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his first four books of "Ecclesiastical "Polity."

This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Bourne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and their designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Bourne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others—scholars especially—went purposely to see the man whose life and learning were so much admired: and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, "What went they out to see? a man "clothed in purple and fine linen?" No, indeed: but an obscure, harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his dis-

position and behaviour: God and Nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face: and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time: and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended: and the reader has a liberty to believe that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his wife.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory of Sir William Cowper, who still lives; and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning. But it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament, the then present parson of Bourne was sequestered—you may guess why—and a Genevan minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had

" sequestered so many good men, that he doubted, if " his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now, " they would have sequestered him too!"

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the Sacrament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar, or communion-table, for them to sit and eat and drink: but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions—but not to kneel upon. When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him "cease wondering, and lock the church-" door;" to whom he replied, "Pray take you the " keys, and lock me out: I will never come more " into this church; for all men will say, my master " Hooker was a good man, and a good scholar; and " I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days:" and report says the old man went presently home and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations. His use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer. His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal and an

humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place, to prevent his imagination from wandering; insomuch, that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons—as indeed of all his discourses—was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety; studying not so much for matter—which he never wanted—as for apt illustrations, to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by heedless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was as discernible in a preacher, "as a natural from an artifi-
"cial beauty."

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and a pious clergy, but especially the last; saying often, "That the life of "a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric; and so "convincing, that the most godless men—though "they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of "their present lusts—did yet secretly wish them-"selves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time

of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kindness and love; because "Love thinks not evil, "but covers a multitude of infirmities."

He was diligent to enquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of His mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits; still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because, as St. John says, "He that lives in love, lives in God; "for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion, and

then to receive it often; for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces. This was his advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach His precepts as Enoch did, by walking with Him in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though, in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible, yet let his memory be blest by this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour both at Bourne, and in all the places in which he lived; thus did he walk with God, and tread in the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that Great Example of meekness and purity, even our Blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of His, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life—for this holy man had heretical enemies—a slander which this age calls *trepanning*. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church ceremonies,

hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me; but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the Great Day of Revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion, as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon. To which the good man's reply was to this purpose: "The "Lord forgive them; and the Lord bless you for this "comfortable news. Now have I a just occasion to "say with Solomon, 'friends are born for the days "'of adversity;' and such you have proved to me. "And to my God I say, as did the mother of St. "John Baptist, 'Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, "'in the day wherein He looked upon me, to take "'away my reproach among men.' And, O my "God! neither my life, nor my reputation, are safe "in my own keeping; but in Thine, who didst take "care of me when I yet hanged upon my mother's "breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in "Thee, O Lord! for when false witnesses were risen "up against me; when shame was ready to cover "my face; when my nights were restless; when my

" soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth " after the rivers of water! then Thou, Lord, didst " hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art " now become my Deliverer; and as long as I live I " will hold up my hands in this manner, and mag- " nify Thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a " prey to mine enemies: the net is broken, and they " are taken in it. Oh! blessed are they that put " their trust in Thee! and no prosperity shall make " me forget those days of sorrow, or to perform those " vows that I have made to Thee in the days of my " affliction; for with such sacrifices Thou, O God! " art well pleased; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that, to prevent the excesses of it,—for men would not know moderation,—Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says "vengeance is Mine;" and though this be said positively by God Himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the menage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it. And yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure

their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That however he would fast and pray "that God would give them repentance, and patience "to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And 'tis observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, "Oh! with what quietness did I enjoy my soul, "after I was free from the fears of my slander! "And how much more after a conflict and victory "over my desires of revenge!"

About the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for after that time, till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights: but a submission to His will that makes the sick man's bed easy by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia—who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,—"That he did not beg a "long life of God for any other reason, but to live "to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and "then, 'Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace;'" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though He denied the Church the benefit of them, as completed by himself; and 'tis thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and "written papers safe?" And being answered that they were; his reply was, "Then it matters not; "for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul,—for they were supposed to be confessors to each other,—came to him, and, after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and, after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company; and then the Doctor gave him and some of those friends which were with him, the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return

early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to require his present thoughts. To which he replied, "That he was meditating the "number and nature of Angels, and their blessed "obedience and order, without which, peace could "not be in Heaven: and Oh! that it might be so "on earth!" After which words, he said, "I have "lived to see this world is made up of perturba- "tions; and I have been long preparing to leave it, "and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of "making my account with God, which I now appre- "hend to be near; and though I have by His grace "loved Him in my youth, and feared Him in mine "age, and laboured to have a conscience void of "offence to Him, and to all men; yet if Thou, O "Lord! be extreme to mark what I have done "amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where "I have failed, Lord, show mercy to me; for I "plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of "my unrighteousness, for His merits, who died to "purchase pardon for penitent sinners. And since "I owe Thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, "and then take Thine own time: I submit to it: "let not mine, O Lord! but let Thy will be done." With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery, yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, "for I am at peace with all men, and He is at peace "with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel "that inward joy, which this world can neither give "nor take from me: my conscience beareth me this

" witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of " death joyful. I could wish to live to do the Church " more service; but cannot hope it, for my days " are past as a shadow that returns not." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt Nature and Death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom. Let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most Noble Army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory, than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, bless, O Lord! Lord bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation; for these will bring peace at the last. And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed, when he undertook them: which was, glory to Thee O God! on high, peace in Thy Church, and goodwill to mankind. Amen, Amen.

IZAAK WALTON.

THIS following Epitaph was long since presented to the world, in memory of Mr. Hooker, by Sir William Cowper, who also built him a fair monument in Bourne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

" Though nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
" Or the remembrance of that precious name,
" Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent
" On him, that hath a lasting monument
" In his own books; yet ought we to express,
" If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
" Church ceremonies he maintain'd; then why
" Without all ceremony should he die?
" Was it because his life and death should be
" Both equal patterns of humility?
" Or that perhaps this only glorious one
" Was above all, to ask, why had he none?
" Yet he, that lay so long obscurely low,
" Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
" Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise,
" Humility is the true way to rise:
" And God in me this lesson did inspire,
" To bid this humble man, 'Friend, sit up higher.'"

AN APPENDIX TO THE LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

AND now, having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life, I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death; of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age: which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged: but I have so examined it, as to be confident I mistake not: and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument, set up at the charge of Sir William Cowper, in Bourne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there said to be in anno 1603; but doubtless both are

mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the Archbishop's Registrar for the Province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October 26th in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following.*

And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicely, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them an hundred pounds; that he left Joan, his wife, his sole executrix; and that, by his inventory his estate—a great part of it being in books—came to £1092 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant, Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it. Of which will of Mr. Hooker's I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer,—of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more,—was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a school-master in Chichester, and are both dead long since. Margaret, his

* And the reader may take notice, that since I first writ this Appendix to the Life of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, hath shewed me a good authority for the very day and hour of Mr. Hooker's death, in one of his books of Polity, which had been Archbishop Laud's. In which book, beside many considerable marginal notes of some passages of his time, under the Bishop's own hand, there is also written in the title-page of that book—which now is Mr. Fulman's—this attestation:

Ricardus Hooker *vir summis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de Ecclesia præcipue Anglicana optime meritus, obiit Novemb.* 2, *circiter horam secundam post-meridianam,* Anno 1600.

youngest daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Charke, Bachelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in Sacred Orders; being at this time Rector of Waldron in Sussex. She left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but very far from abounding. And these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable. And for his wife, she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage; for which, doubtless, she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books; concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself, or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597; and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight: but whether we

have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker and the affairs of his family, that, about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker, for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband: of which she would not, or could not, give any account; and that about three months after that time the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's Council, concerning the disposal of those books: but, by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth, and after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, that one Mr. Charke, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings: and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, that they were writings not fit to be seen: and that she knew nothing more concerning them. Her lodging was then in King Street in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer,—mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker,—who was of Mr. Hooker's College, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and

particularly in what concerned these books of Polity —this Dr. Spencer, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands—I think by Bishop Whitgift—the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an Epistle, first, and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books,—but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful books, to be the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker,—with these two letters, J. S. at the end of the said Epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer: in which Epistle the reader may find these words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three books.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own "death by hastening to give life to his books, yet "he held out with his eyes to behold these Benja- "mins, these sons of his right hand, though to him "they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. "But some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice "or of covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is un- "certain, as soon as they were born, and their father "dead, smothered them, and by conveying the per- "fect copies, left unto us nothing but the old, imper- "fect mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces; "no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves "remaining in them. Had the father lived to be- "hold them thus defaced, he might rightly have "named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow: but "being the learned will not suffer them to die and

" be buried, it is intended the world shall see them " as they are; the learned will find in them some " shadows and resemblances of their father's face. " God grant, that as they were with their brethren " dedicated to the Church for messengers of peace: " so, in the strength of that little breath of life that " remaineth in them, they may prosper in their " work, and, by satisfying the doubts of such as are " willing to learn, they may help to give an end to " the calamities of these our civil wars.

" J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this Epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer in the said Epistle, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife—who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken—told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose; "That her husband had made up, or finished " Mr. Hooker's last three books; and that upon " her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, " he gave them into her hand, with a charge that " they should not be seen by any man, but be by her " delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop " of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. " King, then Bishop of London, and that she did as " he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's, and no

other copy, there have been divers transcripts; and I know that these were to be found in several places; as namely, in Sir Thomas Bodley's Library; in that of Dr. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton; in the late Lord Conway's; in the Archbishop of Canterbury's; and in the Bishop of Armagh's; and in many others: and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime Chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called "Clavi Trabales," printed by Richard Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that, in his search and examination of the said Bishop's manuscripts, he found the three written books which were supposed the sixth, seventh, and eighth of Mr. Hooker's books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and that in the said three books—now printed as Mr. Hooker's —there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies: the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in politic societies there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment: for sith punishments proceed always from superiors,

to whom the administration of justice belongeth; which administration must have necessarily a fountain, that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be: therefore a well-spring, it followeth, there is: a supreme head of justice, whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but a King shall have it? Kings, therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them, which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal, before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any. Here, says the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. "I will make oath, if I shall be re-"quired, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of "Lincoln, did a little before his death affirm to me, "he had seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be "the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in "which there was no mention made of the King or "supreme governors being accountable to the people. "This I will make oath, that that good man attested "to me. "FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books: and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop,—whose writings are so highly and justly valued,—gave a strict charge near

the time of his death, or in his last will, "That no-"thing of his that was not already printed, should "be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker; and known also that our late King Charles—the Martyr for the Church—valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious King: and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the three pretended books, because, in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the Long Parliament, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker,—quoting him in one of the three written books, the King replied, "They were not allowed to "be Mr. Hooker's books: but, however, he would "allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to "what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those "doubtful books, if he would but consent to the "judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five, that "were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know; which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself; but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's: and 'tis observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books; so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil, George Cranmer,—whose sister

was the wife of Dr. Spencer—of which this following letter may be a testimony, and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix and in the Life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added.

I. W.

GEORGE CRANMER'S LETTER UNTO MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

February, 1598.

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning Church discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first, the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part savoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course; many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby likely to grow; one man (John Whitgift, the Archbishop) alone there was to speak of,—whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation—who, in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other,

stood in the gap and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which, by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented, wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress *Vincit qui patitur:* for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves—though nothing glad thereof,—must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed; their judgments begin to sway on the other side; the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which did mightily and violently possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, it lost that reputation, which before it had gained. As by the outside of an house the passers-by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within: so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of the master-workmen and chief-builders thereof: they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences, and they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report

they had conceived: so as now the discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop, and hang down her head.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the Reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about the cap and surplice; but not such as either bred division in the Church, or tended to the ruin of the government established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment. In defence of them, volumes were published in English and in Latin: yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed: 1. That whereas Thomas Cartwright and others his great masters, had always before set out the discipline as a Queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded—as may be supposed—upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing,—which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible,—the State Ec-

clesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired by all the common people. 3. It may be noted—and this I know myself to be true—how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause by acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for His Church; as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander, they were at length proceeded; and were also likely to proceed further.

A further degree of outrage was also in fact: certain prophets did arise [Hacket and Coppinger], who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that His holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a peas cart in Cheapside, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them,

and in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter; "Such and such are men unworthy "to govern; pluck them down: such and such "are the dear children of God; let them be advanced."

Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration; yet so, that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any man doubt of what society they were; or if the Reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantic passion? Whose sermons did they frequent? Whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, Whose advice did they require? and when they were in, Whose approbation? Whom advertised they of their purpose? Whose assistance by prayer did they request? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand aloof off, and see the end of it, as being loath to quench that spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the Re-

formers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof, although their ancestors, the Reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them: for if the positions of the Reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. That, because we have no Church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without civil authority they are to erect a Church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose will follow: for if above all things men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the Church there be no salvation; it followeth, that, if we have no Church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary; as also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit Church, are to associate themselves unto some Church; not to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, That in our Church there is no means of salvation, is out of the Reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. *Ergo.*

Again,—but this reason perhaps is weak,—every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ; the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Gospel, and yet by our Church resisted. *Ergo.*

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the Church: by which term essentially, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they may be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion,—for all the premises are their own—or rather ingeniously to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built. What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but, above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others—for aught I see—the most unanswerable. You may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins: but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the Reformers for a time,

and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who, perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of Episcopal, and erection of Presbyterial authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is distraction; their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable, and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring Cathedral Churches, and Bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the Church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the Civil State more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, that they are not able to apprehend many things at once; so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice. That men of learning, and especially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted to matters of State; con-

trary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the Reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them; namely, the cursed crew of atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched: but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the Reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive two; namely, senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry: for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason, nor by authority of persons, is maintained? But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the seat of scorners, nor what the Apostles, by foretelling of scorners to come; for our own age hath

verified their speech unto us: which also may be an argument against these scoffers and atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford: which could not be done by any other Spirit, save That whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the Resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, "Where is the promise of His coming?" Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken, the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor—if that be true—without torment in the life to come; they therefore whet their wits to annihilate the joys of Heaven, wherein they see—if any such be—they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct, no doubt, of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion their own atheism is a very strong argument. For, were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were

not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no, not so much as to dispute against Heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the Reformers are Papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation? Which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open an advantage for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did so often overflow.

From hence you may proceed—but the means of connexion I leave to yourself—to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these: 1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of the Episcopal, and erection of Presbyterial au-

thority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them, is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended, yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose: for what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders therefore presently authorized? or their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in Church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end, which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but, by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depriving the present. So in all causes belonging either to Church or Commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, "Why, may not men speak against abuses?"

Yes; but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuse as impious; which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived; for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, this must give place, because a better may be devised; because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in devise with those which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all,—which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged,—they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the State Ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the Civil State, for personal faults; "What "can be said against the Church, which may not "also agree to the Commonwealth?" In both, statesmen have always been, and will be always, men; sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions; many unworthy have been

and are advanced in both: many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses, which they pretend to be in the law themselves; when they inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the Civil State, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the North, himself continually remaining in the South? "He that hath an office let "him attend his office." When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinity of temporal promotions? By the great Philosopher, *Pol. lib. ii. cap.* 9, it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to Commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the Coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of justice, are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? against the Passover, as being ridiculous—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude: you may exhort the clergy,—or what if you direct your conclusion not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both Universities?—you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know, of a minister to preach, Christ crucified: in regard whereof, not only worldly

things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one, hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the Spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but—passions being allayed—are vain and childish.

G. C.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

" He pleased God, and was beloved of Him: so that
" whereas he lived among sinners, He translated him.
WISDOM OF SOLOMON, iv. 10.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LIFE OF GEORGE HERBERT.

IN a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in Sacred Story: and more particularly of what had passed betwixt our blessed Saviour and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her as when she was possessed with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed to charm and ensnare amorous beholders. But I did then, and do now, consider her as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passionately kissed the feet of her's and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her, but that beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from Him a testimony, that her

alabaster box of precious ointment poured on His head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve His sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever His Gospel should be read; intending thereby, that as His, so her name, should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content—at least to myself—that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory, of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives. And though Mr. George Herbert—whose life I now intend to write—were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

THE

LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our Redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county; that castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possessed it; and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family that had been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they were eminent. But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, Knight, the son of Richard Herbert, Knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of

Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest brother of the memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward the Fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of His Majesty's Household. A family that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons and three daughters, which she would often say, was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and as often bless God that they were neither defective in their shapes or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent Ambassador resident to the then French King, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court; so that, upon a complaint to our king, he was called back into

England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the duke, and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I., who made him first Baron of Castle-Island; and not long after of Cherbury, in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book "De Veritate," and by his "History "of the Reign of King Henry VIII.," and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the crown, in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there show a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent

mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow), where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a King's scholar) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother, well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and master of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake; for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years. I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning and other education as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did at his being of a fit age remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care; yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily; but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child; but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content: for she would often say, "That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable "to the meat on which we feed; so our souls do as "insensibly take in vice by the example or conver-"sation with wicked company:" and would therefore as often say, "That ignorance of vice was the best

"preservation of virtue; and that the very know-
"ledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and
"kindle sin, and to keep it burning." For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time, in or near that university; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind: of the first he says,

"No Spring nor Summer beauty has such grace
"As I have seen in an Autumnal face."

Of the latter he says,

"In all her words to every hearer fit,
"You may at revels, or at councils sit."

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of the "Autumnal Beauty." For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias; whom, in his letters, he calls his saint; or an amity, indeed more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such that he turned poet in his old age, and

then made her epitaph; "wishing all his body were "turned into tongues, that he might declare her just "praises to posterity." And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he entered into sacred orders): a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family: and in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM,

"Your favours to me are every where; I use them, "and have them. I enjoy them at London, and "leave them there; and yet find them at Micham. "Such riddles as these become things unexpressible; "and, such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to "find your servant here this day, because I was loth "to have any witness of my not coming home last "night, and indeed of my coming this morning: "but my not coming was excusable, because earnest "business detained me; and my coming this day is "by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who "rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she "loved most; and so did I. And, from her and "myself, I return such thanks as are due to one to "whom we owe all the good opinion, that they whom "we need most have of us. By this messenger, and "on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy "hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the "workmanship, have yet escaped the fire), to your

"judgment, and to your protection too, if you think "them worthy of it; and I have appointed this in- "closed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

"Your unworthiest Servant,

"Unless your accepting him to be so

"Have mended him,

"MICHAM, July 11, 1607. JO. DONNE.

"TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT; OF "ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

"HER of your name, whose fair inheritance
"Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;
"An active faith so highly did advance,
"That she once knew more than the Church did know,
"The Resurrection; so much good there is
"Deliver'd of her, that some fathers be
"Loth to believe one woman could do this;
"But think these Magdalens were two or three.
"Increase their number, lady, and their fame;
"To their devotion add your innocence;
"Take so much of th' example as of the name;
"The latter half; and in some recompence
"That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,
"Harbour these hymns, to His dear Name addrest.

"J. D."

These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand) and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety; but my design was not to write hers, but the life of her son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne

(who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her Funeral Sermon, in the parish church of Chelsey, near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a New-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

——"But I fear the heat of my late ague hath "dried up those springs, by which scholars say, the "muses used to take up their habitations. However "I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of "those many love-poems that are daily writ and "consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few "are writ, that look towards God and Heaven. For "my own part, my meaning, (dear mother,) is in "these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that "my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever "consecrated to God's glory; and I beg you to re-"ceive this as one testimony.

"My God, where is that ancient heat towards Thee,
"Wherewith whole shoals of Martyrs once did burn,
"Besides their other flames? Doth poetry
"Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?
"Why are not sonnets made of Thee? and lays
"Upon Thine altar burnt? Cannot Thy love
"Heighten a spirit to sound out Thy praise
"As well as any she? Cannot Thy Dove

" Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?
" Or, since Thy ways are deep, and still the same,
" Will not a verse run smooth that bears Thy Name!
" Why doth that fire, which by Thy power and might
" Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
" Than that which one day worms may chance refuse?

" Sure, Lord, there is enough in Thee to dry
" Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
" Cover the earth, so doth Thy majesty:
" Each cloud distils Thy praise, and doth forbid
" Poets to turn it to another use.
" Roses and lilies speak Thee; and to make
" A pair of cheeks of them is Thy abuse.
" Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?
" Such poor invention burns in their low mind
" Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
" To praise, and on Thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
" Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
" In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in Thee
" The beauty lies in the discovery.

" G. H."

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time, he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of Heaven: for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy; of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the College, March

15, 1615: and that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22nd year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping "spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised "his weary soul so far above the earth, that it gave "him an earnest of the joys of heaven before he "possessed them." And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirmed his native gentleness; and if during this time, he expressed any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time till he was Master of Arts, which was anno 1615; and in the year 1619 he was chosen orator for the university. His two precedent orators were Sir Robert Naunton and Sir Francis Nethersole: the first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis not very long after his being orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In this place of orator, our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time. For he had acquired great learning, and was blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural

elegance, both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen. Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of orator was manifested in a letter to King James upon the occasion of his sending that university his book, called "Basilicon "Doron;" and their orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to His Majesty for such a condescension, at the close of which letter he writ,

Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the king, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was "That "he knew him very well, and that he was his kins-"man; but he loved him more for his learning and "virtue, than for that he was of his name and family." At which answer the king smiled, and asked the earl leave, "That he might love him too; for he took "him to be the jewel of that university."

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was with them, to shew also his great affection to that Church in which he received his Baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: there was one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch Church, and rector of St. Andrew's, who, by a long and constant converse with a discontented part of that clergy

which opposed episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but king of that nation; who the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the bishops and other learned divines of his church, to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one;* and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious bitter verses against our Liturgy, our Ceremonies, and our Church government; which were by some of that party *so* magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflections on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court conference; he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the king, and others at this conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrew's, and his liberty too: for his former verses and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At

* Andrew Melville, or Melvin, was not present at the celebrated conference at Hampton Court in 1603; but at a private conference held at the same place between James I. and a few Scottish ministers in 1606.—M'CRIE'S *Life of Melville*, ii. 225.

which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella Stuart, an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these—

Causa tibi mecum est communis carceris: Ara-
Bella tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.

And, in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an orator, which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the king's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend His Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, His Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That "he found the orator's learning and wisdom much "above his age or wit." The year following, the king appointed to end his progress at Cambridge,

and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Doctor Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation, before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did, not long after, send the bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars both of this and foreign nations: but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of

hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often say, "*Crux mihi anchora.*"

These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value: and at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the Doctor given to him:

"When my dear friend could write no more,
"He gave this seal, and so gave o'er.

"When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
"This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure."

At this time of being orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the king's favour; and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility. This, and the love of a court-conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the king, wheresoever the court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into His Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney; and valued to be worth a hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes and court-like company, and seldom looked towards

Cambridge, unless the king were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now Prebendary of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which, he thought, did impair his health: for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too "thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a pen-knife in too "narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university or to travel: and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bear the title of "Affliction;" and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says,

"WHEREAS my birth and spirit rather took
"The way that takes the town;
"Thou didst betray me to a lingering book,
"And wrap me in a gown.
"I was entangled in a world of strife,
"Before I had the power to change my life.

"Yet, for I threatened oft the siege to raise,
"Not simpering all mine age;
"Thou often didst with academic praise
"Melt and dissolve my rage.
"I took Thy sweetened pill, till I came near,
"I could not go away, nor persevere.

" Yet lest perchance, I should too happy be
" In my unhappiness,
" Turning my purge to food, Thou throwest me
" Into more sicknesses.
" Thus doth Thy power cross-bias me, not making
" Thine own gift good, yet me from my ways taking.

" Now I am here, what Thou wilt do with me
" None of my books will show:
" I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree;
" For then sure I should grow
" To fruit or shade: at least some bird would trust
" Her household to me, and I should be just.

" Yet, though Thou troublest me, I must be meek,
" In weakness must be stout:
" Well, I will change my service, and go seek
" Some other master out.
" Ah! my dear God! though I am clean forgot,
" Let me not love Thee, if I love Thee not.

" G. H."

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did, in a short time, put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him, King James died also, and with them all Mr. Herbert's court hopes; so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court-life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders, to which his dear mother had often persuaded him. These were such

conflicts, as they only can know that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at His Altar.

He did at his return to London acquaint a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly adjudged "that the domestic servants of the King of Heaven, "should be of the noblest families on earth: and "though the iniquity of the late times have made "clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of "Priest contemptible; yet I will labour to make it "honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and "all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that "God that gave them; knowing that I can never do "too much for Him that hath done so much for me "as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to "be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in "the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful "and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, Who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made prebendary of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626; and that this prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that See. And now he had a fit

occasion to shew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish church was fallen down, and that of it, which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands: being for the workmanship a costly mosaic: for the form an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height: for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedency or priority "of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being "equally useful, might agree like brethren, and "have an equal honour and estimation."

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebendary, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that

he was likely to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea (where she then dwelt), and at his coming said, "George, I sent for you, to per-, "suade you to commit simony, by giving your patron "as good a gift as he has given you; namely, that "you give him back his prebend: for, George, it "is not for your weak body, and empty purse, to "undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day's time to consider, and then make her an answer: and at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, "That "she would, at the age of thirty-three years, allow "him to become an undutiful son; for he had made "a vow to God, that if he were able, he would re-"build that church:" and then shewed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lennox, and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: for, the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther, I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot:

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them; and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself as to the desire of wealth. And having attained so much as to be able to show some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful for his friends: and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money, that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was an useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT, TO HIS MOTHER IN HER SICKNESS.

"MADAM,

"AT my last parting from you, I was the better "content because I was in hope I should myself "carry all sickness out of our family; but since I "know I did not, and that your share continues, or

" rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were
" again with you; and would quickly make good
" my wish, but that my employment does fix me
" here, it being now but a month to our Commence-
" ment: wherein my absence by how much it natu-
" rally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it
" make my prayers the more constant and the more
" earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In
" the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and
" comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, Who
" is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin.
" What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a
" moment? or why should our afflictions here have
" so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope
" of our joys hereafter? Madam, as the earth is but
" a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly
" troubles compared to heavenly joys: therefore, if
" either age or sickness lead you to those joys, con-
" sider what advantage you have over youth and
" health, who are now so near those true comforts.
" Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and I
" hope kept heavenly for yourself: but would you
" divide and choose too? our college customs allow
" not that; and I should account myself most happy
" if I might change with you: for I have always
" observed the thread of life to be like other threads
" or skeins of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances.
" Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up and laid
" ready for work in the New Jerusalem. For my-
" self, dear mother, I always feared sickness more
" than death; because sickness hath made me un-
" able to perform those offices for which I came into
" the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you
" are freed from that fear, who have already abun-

" dantly discharged that part, having both ordered
" your family, and so brought up your children that
" they have attained to the years of discretion, and
" competent maintenance. So that now if they do
" not well, the fault cannot be charged on you,
" whose example and care of them will justify you
" both to the world and your own conscience: inso-
" much, that whether you turn your thoughts on
" the life past, or on the joys that are to come,
" you have strong preservatives against all disquiet.
" And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you con-
" sider all that can happen to you are either afflic-
" tions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of
" estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since
" if we had riches, we are commanded to give them
" away? So that the best use of them is, having,
" not to have them. But, perhaps, being above the
" common people, our credit and estimation calls on
" us to live in a more splendid fashion: but, O God,
" how easily is that answered, when we consider
" that the blessings in the Holy Scripture are never
" given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find
" blessed be the rich, or, blessed be the noble; but,
" 'Blessed be the meek,' and 'Blessed be the poor,'
" and 'Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be
" 'comforted.' And yet, O God! most carry
" themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but
" even feared to be blessed. And for afflictions of
" the body, dear Madam, remember the holy mar-
" tyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thou-
" sands, and have endured such other tortures, as
" the very mention of them might beget amazement;
" but their fiery trials have had an end: and yours
" (which praised be God are less) are not like to

" continue long. I beseech you let such thoughts
" as these moderate your present fear and sorrow;
" and know that if any of yours should prove a
" Goliath-like trouble, yet you may say with David,
" 'That God, who delivered me out of the paws of
" 'the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the
" 'hands of this uncircumcised Philistine." Lastly,
" for those afflictions of the soul: consider that God
" intends that to be as a sacred temple for Himself
" to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for
" such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness
" shall be His competitor. And, above all, if any
" care of future things molest you remember those
" admirable words of the Psalmist, 'Cast thy care on
" 'the Lord, and He shall nourish thee,' Psal. lv. 22.
" To which join that of Saint Peter, 'Casting all
" 'your care on the Lord, for He careth for you,'
" 1 Pet. v. 7. What an admirable thing is this, that
" God puts His shoulder to our burden, and enter-
" tains our care for us that we may the more quietly
" intend His service. To conclude, let me commend
" only one place more to you (Philip iv. 4); St. Paul
" saith there, 'Rejoice in the Lord always: and
" 'again, I say, rejoice.' He doubles it to take away
" the scruple of those that might say, 'What, shall
" 'we rejoice in affliction?' Yes, I say again, re-
" joice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not
" rejoice; but whatsoever befalls us we must always,
" at all times, rejoice in the Lord, Who taketh care
" of us. And it follows in the next verse: 'Let
" 'your moderation appear unto all men: the Lord
" 'is at hand: be careful for nothing.' What can
" be said more comfortably? trouble not yourselves,
" God is at hand to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear

" Madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good " meaning of

" Your most obedient son,

" TRIN. COL. May 25, 1622. GEORGE HERBERT."

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, " Lord, abate my great affliction, or in- " crease my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am " dumb, Lord, before Thee, because Thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end: and his remove was to Dauntsey in Wiltshire, a noble house which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the

Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness. And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desire of his mother and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton Church, yet in conformity to her will, he kept his orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it: and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.

He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very straight; and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby;

namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, Esq.; this Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many); but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter. And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing; and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntsey; yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting: at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city, and love having got such possession, governed and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist; insomuch that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrensy, or worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like princes, as to have select proxies; such as were true friends to both parties; such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence: and the more because it proved so happy to both parties: for the eternal Lover of Mankind made them happy in each other's mutual

and equal affections and compliance; indeed so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls as was only improvable in Heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after this marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long after translated to Winchester, and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the king, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: but Philip, then Earl of Pembroke, (for William was lately dead,) requested the king to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the king said "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it "be worth his acceptance:" And the earl as willingly and suddenly sent it to him without seeking: but though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month: in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, "He endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts as none can think, "but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations), and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke: at which time the king, the earl, and the whole court were there or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night the earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did: and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before); and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, parsonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that

it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it: a life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not; and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now: but it becomes not me to censure: my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the law requires him), he staid so much longer than an ordinary time before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar: at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot: "I now look back upon my "aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy "than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously "thirsted for: and I can now behold the court with "an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made "up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many

" other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures;
" pleasures that are so empty, as not to satisfy when
" they are enjoyed. But in God and His service is
" a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety.
" And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my
" relations and dependants to a love and reliance on
" Him, who never fails those that trust Him. But
" above all, I will be sure to live well, because the
" virtuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful
" eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence
" and love, and at least to desire to live like him.
" And this I will do, because I know we live in an
" age that hath more need of good examples than
" precepts. And I beseech that God, Who hath
" honoured me so much as to call me to serve Him
" at His altar, that as by His special grace He hath
" put into my heart these good desires and resolu-
" tions; so He will, by His assisting grace, give me
" ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect.
" And I beseech Him that my humble and chari-
" table life may so win upon others, as to bring
" glory to my JESUS, whom I have this day taken
" to be my Master and Governor: and I am so
" proud of His service, that I will always observe, and
" obey, and do His will; and always call Him Jesus
" my Master, and I will always contemn my birth, or
" any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me,
" when I shall compare them with my title of being
" a priest, and serving at the Altar of Jesus my
" Master."

And that he did so may appear in many parts of his book of Sacred Poems; especially in that which he calls The Odour. In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word Jesus, and say, that

the adding these words, my Master, to it, and the often repetition of them seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's Altar, he seems in another place of his poems (The Pearl, *Matt.* xiii.) to rejoice and say,—He knew the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly; and what, when it is forced by fire; knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions; knew the court; knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his Master JESUS; and then concludes, saying,

"That through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
"But Thy silk-twist, let down from Heaven to me,
"Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
"To climb to Thee."

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat; he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife he said to her, "You are now a minister's wife, and must "now so far forget your father's house, as not to "claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for "you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge "no precedence or place, but that which she purchases "by her obliging humility: and I am sure places so "purchased do best become them. And let me tell "you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you "that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility,

that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed, by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely, at Minal,* sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind: but after she had spoken some few words to him she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mother, be not afraid "to speak to me; for I am a man that will hear you "with patience; and will relieve your necessities "too, if I be able; and this I will do willingly; and "therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me "with what you desire." After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, "He would be acquainted with "her, and take her into his care." And having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is

* Mildenhall, one and a half miles E.N.E. from Marlborough.

some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience), he, like a Christian Clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly, was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes; and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman: with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a message, "That she would see and be acquainted with her "when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell that he hasted to get the parish church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which stands near his house), and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantel of the chimney in his hall:

"TO MY SUCCESSOR.

"If thou chance for to find
"A new house to thy mind,
"And built without thy cost:
"Be good to the poor,
"As God gives thee store,
"And then my labour's not lost."

We will now, by the reader's favour, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth); and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the Holy Altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a deacon,* and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the Sacraments. At which time, the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Henchman, now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, "He laid his hand "on Mr. Herbert's head, and alas! within less than "three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear "friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be ought to observe; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might show him his variations from this year's resolutions; he, therefore, did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world

* Admission to a cure of souls did not at this time require the person to be in priest's orders; but by 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4, it became indispensable.

now sees them printed in a little book called "The Country Parson," in which some of his rules are:

The Parson's Knowledge.
The Parson on Sundays.
The Parson Praying.
The Parson Preaching.
The Parson's Charity.
The Parson Comforting the Sick.
The Parson Arguing.
The Parson Condescending.
The Parson in his Journey.
The Parson in his Mirth.
The Parson with his Churchwardens.
The Parson Blessing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the other holy rules set down in that useful book: a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that country parson that can spare twelve pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who published it with a most conscientious and excellent preface; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, "Keep "thy heart with all diligence." In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience both to God and man: and delivered his sermon after a

most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence. But at the close of this sermon told them "That should not be his constant way of preach-" ing; for since Almighty God does not intend to "lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would "not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary no-" tions; but that for their sakes, his language and "his expressions should be more plain and practical "in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, "That they would be constant to the "afternoon's service and catechising;" and showed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity with his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the Gospel or to the Epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the Church was a reasonable and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners; and that we begin so because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for; but having in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed; and

hoping, that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, to open our lips, that our mouths may show forth His praise; for, till then we are neither able nor worthy to praise Him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past, and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly, for with such sacrifices God is honoured and well pleased. This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those His mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, "That their "souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits "do all rejoice in God their Saviour." And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, "That their eyes have also

" seen their salvation;" for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they live to see it daily in the history of it, and therefore, ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that particular mercy. A service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin, and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of Heaven; and where they are at this time, interchangeably and constantly singing, "Holy, " Holy, Holy Lord God, Glory be to God on high, " and on earth peace." And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God; because the prophet David says, in his Psalms, " He that " praiseth the Lord honoureth Him."

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour; it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, " Blessed be the " Lord God of Israel, for He hath (in our days) " visited and redeemed His people; and (He hath in " our days) remembered and showed that mercy " which, by the mouth of the prophets, He promised " to our forefathers; and this He hath done accord- " ing to His holy covenant made with them." And

he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in His birth, in His life, His passion, His resurrection, and ascension into Heaven, where He now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where He is at this present time making intercession for us, to His, and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath "thus visited and thus redeemed His people."—These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them, also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the Creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you;" and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy "spirit;" and then they join together in the following collects, and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from Heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and He as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our

Lord was prayed often in every full service of the Church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them, also, that as by the second commandment we are required not to bow down or worship an idol or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter Creed or Doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that the God that they trusted in was one God and three Persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to Whom they and the priest gave glory. And because there had been heretics that had denied some of these three Persons to be God; therefore the congregation stood up and honoured Him, by confessing and saying, "It was so in the "beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world "without end." And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, Amen.

He instructed them, also, what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of Holy-days, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and,

(as Reverend Mr. Hooker says) to be the landmarks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note, that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that "she should conceive and bear a "Son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind." And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas; a day in which we commemorate His birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate His Circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: and that that day we also celebrate the memory of His goodness in sending a star to guide the three wise men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present Him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after His birth presented by His blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call the Purification of the blessed Virgin, St. Mary. And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like Him in purity. And that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole His Crucifixion; and at Easter commemo-

rate His glorious Resurrection. And he taught them that after Jesus had manifested Himself to His disciples to be that Christ that was crucified, dead, and buried; and by His appearing and conversing with His disciples for the space of forty days after His Resurrection, He then, and not till then, ascended into Heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which He made to His disciples at or before His Ascension; namely, that though He left them, yet He would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter; and that He did so on that day which the Church calls Whit-sunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also, why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the altar or communion table: why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some collects standing; and he gave them many other observations fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention, for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it:—But I have done, when I have told the reader that he was constant in catechizing every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechizing was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half

hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of Divine Service; and of those ministers that huddled up the Church prayers without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's prayer or collect in a breath; but for himself, his custom was to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family twice every day at the Church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only his own household thus to serve the Lord, but brought most of his parishioners and many gentle-

men in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's Saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example, to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: and though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his time "spent in prayer, and Cathedral music, elevated his "soul, and was his Heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private

music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, "but only moderates and sets rules to it."

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city, and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this, the rather because though you are not "of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the "hand of your tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder "to do it, because I know there be some sermon-"hearers that be like those fishes that always live "in salt water, and yet are always fresh." After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure "for these distempers would be for the clergy them-

" selves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg " of their parishioners to join with them in fasting " and prayers for a more religious clergy.

" And another cure would be for themselves to re- " store the great and neglected duty of catechising, " on which the salvation of so many of the poor and " ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally " that the clergy themselves would be sure to live " unblameably; and that the dignified clergy espe- " cially, which preach temperance, would avoid sur- " feiting, and take all occasions to express a visible " humility and charity in their lives; for this would " force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned " reverence from all that knew them to be such." (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.) "This," said Mr. Herbert, "would be a cure for the wickedness and " growing atheism of our age. And, my dear " brother, till this be done by us, and done in earn- " est, let no man expect a reformation of the man- " ners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, " this only, that must do it; and till then the fault " must lie at our own doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; they were both in distress, and needed present help, which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "That if " he loved himself, he should be merciful to his

"beast." Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed; but he told them the occasion: and when one of the company told him "He had disparaged himself by so dirty an employ-"ment;" his answer was, "That the thought of "what he had done, would prove music to him at "midnight; and that the omission of it would have "upbraided and made discord in his conscience, "whensoever he should pass by that place: for if I "be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am "sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, "to practise what I pray for. And though I do not "wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me "tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my "life, without comforting a sad soul, or shewing "mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And "now let us tune our instruments."

Thus as our blessed Saviour, after His Resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scriptures to Cleopas and that other disciple which He met with, and accompanied, in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his

parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for she rejoiced in the employment: and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours: to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "He would not see the danger of want so far "off; but being the Scripture does so commend "charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of "Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling "of the law, the life of faith; and that charity hath "a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a "reward in that life which is to come; being these "and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken "of thee, O Charity! and that being all my tithes "and church-dues are a deodate from thee, O my "God, make me, O my God, so far to trust Thy "promise, as to return them back to Thee! and by "Thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any "of Thy poor members that are in distress, or do "but bear the image of Jesus my Master. Sir," said he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent

"maintenance secured her after my death, and "therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolu- "tion shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said, "His life could not be "better spent than in the service of his Master "Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him: "but," said he, "I will not be wilful; for though "my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; "and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to "read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be "only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on "immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's and then his curate to the Church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease.* And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the Church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel,

* George Herbert is generally called Rector of Bemerton, because the glebe-house in which he resided is in that parish; but he should more properly be called Rector of Fugglestone, or Foulston St. Peter's cum Bemerton annexed, as the Rectory comprises the parishes of Fugglestone, Quidhampton, and Bemerton.—ARCHDEACON COXE.

when the music-meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Ferrar (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquired the health of his brother Ferrar; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after some discourse of Mr. Ferrar's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I see by your habit that you are "a priest, and I desire you to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him "What "prayers?" to which Mr. Herbert's answer was "O "Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of Eng- "land; no other prayers are equal to them! but at "this time I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for "I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Ferrar, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me that at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour,

as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, "his discourse was so pious, and his motion "so genteel and meek, that after almost forty years "yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning, Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days; and he did so; but before I shall say anything of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Ferrar.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar (who got the reputation of being called St. Nicholas at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth: but certainly was at an early age made fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age he betook himself to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that Church which calls itself catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England. In his absence from England Mr. Ferrar's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Ferrar had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year, the greatest part of

which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the Parish Church or Chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Ferrar having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, a nothing between two dishes, did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death: and his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used: and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the Vigils or Eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints'-days; and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor; but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner:—He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the Common-prayers (for he was a Deacon) every day

at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the Parish Church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village, before Mr. Ferrar bought the manor: and he did also constantly read the Matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the Church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house: and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the Church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and, in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Ferrar and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the Church, or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day; and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God or reading the Psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary and faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter, or whole Book

of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Ferrar and his happy family serve God day and night:—thus did they always behave themselves, as in His presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God.—And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in the watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night: and the watch was always kept in the Church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it, and the parlour was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Ferrar's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving

and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Ferrar's commending "The Considerations of John "Valdesso" (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert, before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Ferrar.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the emperor, that his resolution was to decline His Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The emperor had himself for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: but God and himself did, till then, only know them: and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse; which Valdesso promised to do.

In the mean time, the emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again, and after a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed Sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach

a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a contemplative life, which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon, the emperor took occasion to declare openly, "That "the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay "down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and "betake himself to a monastic life." And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like: but this is most certain, that after the emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar: and the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso wrote his hundred and ten considerations, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Ferrar to procure and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Ferrar and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and, therefore, their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar "an account of the decaying condition of my body, "and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers "for me: and let him know that I have considered, "that God only is what He would be; and that I "am, by His grace, become now so like Him, as to "be pleased with what pleaseth Him; and tell him, "that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want

" of health; and tell him, my heart is fixed on that " place where true joy is only to be found; and that " I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed " change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him, "Sir, I " pray deliver this little book to my dear brother " Ferrar, and tell him he shall find in it a picture of " the many spiritual conflicts that have passed be- " twixt God and my soul, before I could subject " mine to the will of Jesus my Master; in whose " service I have now found perfect freedom; desire " him to read it: and then, if he can think it may " turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, " let it be made public; if not let him burn it; for " I and it are less than the least of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of "The " TEMPLE; or, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejacu- " lations;" of which Mr. Ferrar would say, "There " was in it the picture of a divine soul in every " page; and that the whole book was such a har- " mony of holy passions, as would enrich the world " with pleasure and piety." And it appears to have done so: for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Ferrar sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses—

> " Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
> " Ready to pass to the American strand,"

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means

allow the book to be printed and want them; but after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had "many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; "but I hope the world will not take him to be an "inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole "book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Ferrar hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the bishop and prebendaries of the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose; "I now look "back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see "the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, and "music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past "by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns "not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to "them; and I see that as my father and generation "hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly "(with Job) make my bed also in the dark; and I "praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise Him,

" that I am not to learn patience now I stand in such " need of it; and that I have practised mortification, " and endeavoured to die daily that I might not die " eternally; and my hope is that I shall shortly leave " this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and " pain; and which will be a more happy condition, I " shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and " anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I " shall dwell in the new Jerusalem; dwell there with " men made perfect: dwell where these eyes shall " see my Master and Saviour Jesus; and with Him " see my dear mother, and all my relations and " friends:—But I must die, or not come to that " happy place: and this is my content, that I am " going daily towards it; and that every day which " I have lived hath taken a part of my appointed time " from me; and that I shall live the less time, for " having lived this and the day past." These, and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of Heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

" My God, my God,
" My music shall find Thee,
And ev'ry string
" Shall have his attribute to sing."

And having tuned it, he played and sung;

" The Sundays of man's life,
" Threaded together on time's string,
" Make bracelets to adorn the wife
" Of the eternal glorious King:
" On Sundays, Heaven's door stands ope;
" Blessings are plentiful and rife,
" More plentiful than hope."

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Ferrar now sing in Heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry "I have nothing to present to my merciful God but "sin and misery; but the first is pardoned; and a "few hours will now put a period to the latter; for "I shall suddenly go hence, and be no more seen." Upon which expression Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton Church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying, "They be good works if they be "sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not other-"wise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and observed him to fall into a sudden agony, which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did? to which his answer was, "That he had passed a conflict with "his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the "merits of his Master Jesus." After which answer he looked up and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "If they loved "him, to withdraw into the next room, and there "pray every one alone for him; for nothing but

" their lamentations could make his death uncom-
" fortable." To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply; but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, " sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in " which you may easily find my last will, and give it " into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, " My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in " which you will find that I have made you my sole " executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and " I desire you to show kindness to them as they shall " need it: I do not desire you to be just, for I know " you will be so for your own sake: but I charge " you, by the religion of our friendship, to be care-
" ful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to " die." After which words, he said, "Lord, for-
" sake me not, now my strength faileth me; but " grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus. And " now, Lord—Lord now receive my soul." And with these words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance. Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better than with this borrowed observation:—

. . . . . "All must to their cold graves;
" But the religious actions of the just
" Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust."

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations. I have but this to say more of him, that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

Iz. Wa.

THERE is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself and complaining, that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more, that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the "mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my "heart; but since I have not been able to do that, "I will labour to live like him, that where he now "is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the Prophet David for his son Absalom), "O that I "had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight: and though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would, even to him, often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "That "name must live in her memory, till she put off "mortality."—By Sir Robert she had only one

child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own Church, under the altar, and covered with a gravestone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public, but they and Highnam House were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.

THE LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

"Blessed is the man in whose spirit there is no guile."
Ps. xxxii. 2.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE

GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

PRELATE OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF

HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

My Lord,

IF I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I should enter upon an employment that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sanderson: but though I will not venture to do that, yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to outlive him, and farther from an in-

tention to write his life. But the wise Disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your Lordship—and, as it ought to be—with all humility, and a desire that it may remain as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,
Your most affectionate old friend,
and most humble servant,

IZAAK WALTON.

THE PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor assure the reader that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderson; but am sure there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confess it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity as to undertake it. For it may be noted, that our Saviour hath had such care, that, for Mary Magdalen's kindness to Him, her name should never be forgotten: and doubtless Dr. Sanderson's meek and innocent life, his great and useful learning, might therefore challenge the like endeavours to preserve his memory: and 'tis to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others—I am far from that—but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it. This being premised, I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold as to paraphrase and say what I think he—whom I had the happiness to know well—would have said upon the same occasions: and if I have erred in this kind, and cannot

now beg pardon of him that loved me; yet I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And, though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to begin, and so many willing informers since, and from them, and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint, and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden myself, and ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and here presented to the reader, and with it this desire; that he will take notice, that Dr. Sanderson did in his Will, or last sickness, advertise that after his death nothing of his might be printed; because that might be said to be his, which indeed was not; and also for that he might have changed his opinion since he first writ it. And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in that "Case of conscience concerning rash vows;" that there may appear very good second reasons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do Apocryphal Scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; That as in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's life, I met with these little tracts annexed; so, in my former queries for my information to write the life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader. It is affirmed—and I have met with reason to believe it—that there be some artists that do certainly know an original picture from a copy; and

in what age of the world, and by whom drawn. And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, I am now glad that I have collected these memoirs, which lay scattered, and contracted them into a narrower compass; and if I have, by the pleasant toil of doing so, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I designed when I first undertook it. But I seriously wish, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderson's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by such a pen as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

THE

LIFE OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

DOCTOR Robert Sanderson, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainness, was born the nineteenth day of September, in the year of our Redemption 1587. The place of his birth was Rotherham,* in the county of York; a town of good note, and the more for that Thomas Rotherham,† some time Archbishop of that See, was born in it; a man whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life, have made it the more memor-

* This is a mistake; Bishop Sanderson was born at Sheffield, on the 19th of September.

† Thomas Scot, or Rotherham, so called after his birth-place, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was afterward Master of Pembroke Hall, and in 1483 and 1484, Chancellor of the University. He obtained great ecclesiastical preferment, being successively Provost of Beverley, Bishop of Rochester and of Lincoln, and lastly Archbishop of York. Nor was he less adorned with civil honours, having been appointed, first, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and then Lord Chancellor of England. The two Universities and his native town still enjoy the fruits of his bounty. He died of the plague, at his palace of Cawood, in 1501.

able, as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great piety, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson of Gilthwaite Hall, in the said parish and county, Esq., by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwaite Hall, in the parish of Ecclesfield, in the said county of York, Gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson, the father, was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the search of which truth, I refer my reader, that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoroton's "History of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire," and other records; not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality; for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but shew us who of our ancestors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbish of their vices ought to fall heavy on such dishonourable heads; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But our Robert Sanderson lived worthy of his name and family: of which one testimony may be, that Gilbert, called the Great Earl of Shrewsbury,

thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Sheldon,* the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; to whose merits and memory, posterity—the clergy especially—ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then to dedicate himself, and all his studies, to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endowed his; so this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind—his being mild, and averse to oppositions—made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others: and this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example; and by frequent conversing with him, and scattering short apophthegms with little pleasant stories, and making useful applications of them, his son was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of wisdom and virtue; and by these means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so habitual, as it was not

* Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was born July 19, 1598. His father Roger Sheldon, though of no obscure parentage, was a menial servant to Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury. He was of Trinity College, Oxford, and took his Master's degree in May, 1620. He was introduced to Charles I. by Lord Coventry, and became one of His Majesty's Chaplains. Upon the Restoration, he was made Dean of the Chapel Royal, succeeded Dr. Juxon as Bishop of London, and after as Archbishop of Canterbury; in 1667 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He died at Lambeth, Nov. 9, 1677.

easy to determine whether Nature or Education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue, were by God's assisting grace, blessed with what St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians (Phil. i. 6), namely, "That He that had "begun a good work in them, would finish it." And Almighty God did: for his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death —and with truth and comfort—what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when he advised them to walk as they had him for an example (chap. iii. 17).

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did; and with his goodness, his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-school of Rotherham—that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good bishop of that name. And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging a behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that school till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster: and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learn-

ing and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all of the arts upon; and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln College. And he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that College, and after to matriculate him in the University, which he did the first of July, 1603; but he was not chosen Fellow till the third of May, 1606; at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the Rector, "that his pupil, Sanderson, "had a metaphysical brain and a matchless me-"mory; and that he thought he had improved or "made the last so by an art of his own invention." And all the future employments of his life proved that this tutor was not mistaken. I must here stop my reader, and tell him that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and was so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Professor of it in this University; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible; and that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company: and they going together on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend to that Parish Church where they then were,

found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words,—not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie,—and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When evening prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the Doctor's friend's house; where after some other conference the Doctor told him, "He might "have preached more useful doctrine, and not have "filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions "against the late translation: and for that word, "for which he offered to that poor congregation "three reasons why it ought to have been translated "as he said; he and others had considered all of "them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons "why it was translated as now printed;" and told him, "If his friend, then attending him, should "prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit "his favour." To which Mr. Sanderson said, "He "hoped he should not." And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, "He would not justify himself."

And so I return to Oxford. In the year 1608,—July the 11th,—Mr. Sanderson was completed Master of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these dignities the time was shorter than was then or is now required; but either his birth or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the reader is requested to believe, that 'twas the last: and requested to believe also, that if I be mistaken in the time, the college records have misinformed me: but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was—November the 7th,

—by his College chosen Reader of Logic in the house; which he performed so well, that he was chosen again on the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen Sub-Rector of the College, and the like for the year 1614, and chosen again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616.

In all of which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both, which were, God knows, so connatural as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which, by God's assisting grace, never left him till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities—if they may be so called—more hereafter.

In the year 1614 he stood to be elected one of the Proctors for the University. And 'twas not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the Rector and whole society, of which he was a member; who had not had a Proctor chosen out of their College for the space of sixty years;—namely, not from the year 1554, unto his standing;—and they persuaded him, that if he would but stand for Proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that 'twas but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers; and told him, "That he would by that "means recover a right or reputation that was "seemingly dead to his College." By these, and other like persuasions, he yielded up his own reason

to theirs, and appeared to stand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a faction, that he missed it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "That if he were troubled at the dis-"appointment, it was for theirs, and not for his "own sake: for he was far from any desire of such "an employment, as must be managed with charge "and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with "hard censures, or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others, to review the Logic Lectures which he had read some years past in his College; and, that done, to methodise and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity. But though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print; yet after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year 1615. And the book proved as his friends seemed to prophesy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the art or the author. For logic may be said to be an art of right reasoning; an art that undeceives men who take falsehood for truth; enables men to pass a true judgment, and detect those fallacies, which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our author was in this art, will quickly appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. He, who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more

satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this, his first public undertaking, by hearing that most tutors in both Universities teach Dr. Sanderson's Logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in philosophy. And, for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that since his book of Logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: and that 'tis like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a Proctor's place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averseness to run a second hazard of his credit and content: and yet he was assured by Dr. Kilbie, and the Fellows of his own College, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his book of Logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done; and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And, upon these, and other like encouragements, he did again, but not without an inward unwillingness, yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was the tenth of April, 1616, chosen Senior Proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Crooke, of Christ Church, being then chosen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor, there happened many memorable accidents; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Balliol College, and Regius Pro-

fessor of Divinity, who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before, was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese, by the Heads of all Houses, and the chief of all the University, and Dr. Prideaux succeeded him in the professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642, being then elected Bishop of Worcester, at which time our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the Regius Professorship.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake—then Warden of New College—was advanced to the bishopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he has made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sat usually with his Chancellor in his Consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved Church censures. And it may be noted, that, after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then as usually preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and did so apply them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives: and having done that, he would take them—though never so poor—to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them to believe him. And his humility and charity, and other Christian excellencies, were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his Life, truly writ, and printed before his Sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Ellesmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the Right Honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year our late King Charles the First —then Prince of Wales,—came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the University, the Schools, Colleges, and Libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And in this year King James sent letters to the University for the regulating their studies; especially of the young divines: advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the Fathers and Councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning Predestination, Universal Redemption, the Irresistibility of God's Grace, and of some other knotty points depending upon these; points which many think were not, but by interpreters forced to be, Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation, being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the King's Letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon: and that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it,

yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the University; which at that time was, either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also, the magisterial part of the Proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then, and others suddenly after, put into an useful execution. And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful as they were designed, till Archbishop Laud's time—who assisted in the forming and promoting them—yet our present Proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do: of which one example may seem worthy the noting; namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars absent from their Colleges at University hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him, unsent for, next morning: and when they did, convinced them, with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said, "There is mercy with "Thee, and therefore Thou shalt be feared," Psal. cxxx. 4. And by this and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his Proctor's speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy, he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose: "I look back "upon my late employment with some content to "myself, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, "that He hath made me of a temper not apt to pro- "voke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass "by infirmities, if noted; and in this employment I "have had—God knows—many occasions to do both. "And when I consider how many of a contrary "temper are by sudden and small occasions tran- "sported and hurried by anger to commit such er- "rors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and "will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts "upbraid, and require repentance: and consider, "that though repentance secures us from the punish- "ment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable "it is to be innocent than need pardon: and consi- "der, that errors against men, though pardoned both "by God and them, do yet leave such anxious "and upbraiding impressions in the memory, as "abates of the offender's content:—when I consider "all this, and that God hath of His goodness given "me a temper that hath prevented me from running "into such enormities, I remember my temper with "joy and thankfulness. And though I cannot say "with David—I wish I could—that therefore 'His "'praise shall always be in my mouth:' (Psal. "xxxiv. 1;) yet I hope, that by His grace, and that "grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never "be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech "Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one pas-

sage more in his Proctorship, which is, that Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity College in that University; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was sent after him from his god-father—the father of our Proctor—to let his son know it, and commend his godson to his acquaintance, and to more than a common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our Proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon having—like a young man as he was—run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore apprehend the Proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his bed restless that night: but, at their meeting the next morning, that fear vanished immediately by the Proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of; of a friendship free from all self ends: and it continued to be so till death forced a separation of it on earth; but it is now re-united in Heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his Proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that, this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the matter, as hath been preached in that University since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for

that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of May following, having been ordained Deacon and Priest in the year 1611, by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Christ Church, and then knew him so well, that he became his most affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the twenty-ninth of his age, he took from the University a licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Castleton, presented to the Rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston, in the County of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being—next to a good conscience—the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the Rectory of Boothby Pannell, in the same County of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than forty years parson of Boothby Pannell, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To this living—which was of less value, but a purer air than Wibberton—he was presented by Thomas Harrington, of the same county and parish, Esq., who was a gentleman of a very ancient family,

and of great use and esteem in his country during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannell the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made Parson of Boothby Pannell, he resigned his Fellowship of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows: and his resignation is recorded in these words:

Ego Robertus Sanderson perpetuus, &c.

I Robert Sanderson, Fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College, in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the Rector and Fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said College, wishing to them and their successors all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

May 6, 1619. ROBERT SANDERSON.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York, or the King *sede vacante*, made Prebend of the Collegiate Church of Southwell in that Diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that See.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannell, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a University life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country Parson the more uncomfortable, by reason

of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and a prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual a content, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, Colos. i. 24, which he would not have wanted because they occasioned his rejoicing in them. And he, having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them; he, having considered all this, the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purposes into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham, in the County of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was cheerful; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she outlived him.

And in this Boothby Pannell, he either found or made his parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the decent and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron, and he lived toge-

ther in a religious love and a contented quietness, he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised, in order to their salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For he would often say, "That, without the last, "the most evident truths—heard as from an enemy, "or an evil liver—either are not, or are at least the "less effectual; and do usually rather harden than "convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the Church prayers, catechising, preaching, and administering the Sacraments seasonably; but thought—if the Law or the Canons may seem to enjoin no more yet,—that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom He loves to perform. He, considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing lawsuits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it: considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, Gal. vi. 2, "Help to "bear one another's burden," either of sorrow or

want; and what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account for that evil we have done, and the good we have omitted, to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good, one example may be, that he met with a poor dejected neighbour, that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9*l.* a year; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days' constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would bate him no rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of Mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children: love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame: people that are cursed with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderson: for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man: bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning: and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day, and, in a conference, the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant; telling him how much God is pleased when men compassionate the poor: and told him, that though God loves sacrifice, yet He loves mercy so much better, that He

is best pleased when called the God of Mercy. And told him, the riches he was possessed of were given him by that God of Mercy, who would not be pleased, if he, that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich steward in the Gospel, "that took his fellow servant by the throat to "make him pay the utmost farthing." This he told him: and told him, that the law of this nation —by which law he claims his rent—does not undertake to make men honest or merciful; but does what it can to restrain men from being dishonest or unmerciful, and yet was defective in both: and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich steward which he had mentioned to him; and told him that riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job says, "prove like gravel "in his teeth:" would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able; and therefore advised him, being very rich, to make friends of his unrighteous Mammon, before that evil day come upon him: but however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any rent of his poor, dejected, sad tenant; for that were to gain a temporal, and lose his eternal happiness. These, and other such reasons were urged with so grave and compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the de-

jected tenant: and will believe that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts that "he had seen none perish for want of "clothing: and that he had often made the heart "of the widow to rejoice," Job xxxi. 19. And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this and very many like occasions. But, since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him, in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life, was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety, were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured, and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do: for though he had an extraordinary memory,—even the art of it,—yet he had such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his sermons as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when they were first printed and exposed to censure,—which was in the year 1632,—"that the best sermons that were ever read were "never preached."

In this contented obscurity he continued, till the

learned and good Archbishop Laud, who knew him well at Oxford—for he was his contemporary there, —told the King,—'twas the knowing and conscientious King Charles the First,—that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his Majesty would make him his chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the Bishop charge to hasten it, for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The Bishop forgot not the King's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following, 1631. And when they became known to each other, the King did put many cases of conscience to him, and received from him such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him great content in conversing with him; so that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him, "he should long for the next November: for "he resolved to have a more inward acquaintance "with him, when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other "preachers; but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. "Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the King thought what he spake: for he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King,—which was 1625,—he was chosen to be a clerk of the Convocation for the diocese of Lincoln; which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about Predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon, or are interwoven in it; occasioned as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin's, though others say they were long before his time. But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up, for his own satisfaction, such a scheme—he called it *Pax Ecclesiæ*—as then gave himself, and hath since given others, such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation among the most learned. He was also chosen clerk of all the Convocations during that good King's reign. Which I here tell my reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that Convocation in 1640, the unhappy Long Parliament, and some debates of the Predestinarian points as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now Reverend Dean of Salisbury.

In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities. But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither, Dr. Sanderson did attend him, and was then—the 31st of August—created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Masters of Arts with him: some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall outlive

it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then Bishops of Winton and of Norwich, and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his University. So was Meric, the son of the learned Isaac Casaubon; and Prince Rupert, who still lives, the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford, Earl of Essex, Earl of Berkshire, and very many others of noble birth—too many to be named—were then created Masters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace,—though inwardly sick of being well,—namely, in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots Church were zealously restless for another reformation of their Kirk government; and to that end created a new Covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity; but by so many thousands, and they so armed as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed but to request: so that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcastle, where the King was forced to meet them with an army; but upon a treaty and some concessions, he sent them back,—though not so rich as they intended, yet,—for that time, without bloodshed. But, Oh! this peace, and this Covenant, were but the forerunners of war, and the many miseries that followed: for in the year following there were so many chosen into the Long Parliament that were of a conjunct council

with those very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the members of that Parliament, and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would restore them to their former tranquillity. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto; "For the "Crown and Covenant of both kingdoms." This I saw, and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, I praise God that He prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because, in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common Prayer and ceremonies of the Church, and seemed restless for another reformation; and though their desires seemed not reasonable to the King, and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury; yet, to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did,

in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the Convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the Service book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material for satisfying their consciences: and to this end they did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house, for the space of three months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless, his reputation was such, that he was, in the year 1642, proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King, then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of Church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houses of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an Assembly of Divines, to debate and settle some Church-controversies, of which many were very unfit to judge; in which Dr. Sanderson was also named, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the summons wanting the King's authority. And here I must look back, and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was, July 21st, named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford: but, though knowledge be said to puff up, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons,

—expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed,—kept him from entering into it till October 1646.

He did, for about a year's time, continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first *de Juramento*, a point very difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject, so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part of their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these, and his following lectures *de Conscientia*, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens must needs fall short in the commendation of them: so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in Casuistical Divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures,—the King being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight,—the Parliament had sent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all Heads of Houses; and all other inferior scholars, of what degree soever, were all to take these oaths by a fixed day; and those that did not were to abandon their Colleges, and the University too, within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum; for if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others, had been for-

merly murdered by this wicked Parliament; but the King yet was not: and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made between King and Parliament, that the Dissenters in the University might both preserve their consciences, and the poor subsistence which they then enjoyed by their Colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the Parliament were not yet grown so merciless as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the University appointed twenty delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to the Parliament, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences; and of these delegates Dr. Sheldon,—late Archbishop of Canterbury,—Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley,—now Bishop of Winchester,—and that most honest and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part; the rest I cannot now name: but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson: and he was requested to methodise and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires and did so. And then, after they had been read in a full Convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all nations: and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them: but they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that those of these three

kingdoms might the better judge of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the Independents—who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army—had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment; and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat of that to the King, who had, in the year 1646, sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, —the late Archbishop of Canterbury,—and Dr. Morley—the now Bishop of Winchester—to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the Parliament for a peace in Church and State: but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now allowed him by those in present power. And as those other Divines, so Dr. Sanderson gave his attendance on his Majesty also in the Isle of Wight, preached there before him, and had in that attendance, many both public and private conferences with him, to his Majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that, being the Parliament had proposed to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with Monarchy, that he would consider of it; and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's taking his leave of his Majesty in his last attendance on him, the King requested him to partake himself to the writing Cases of Conscience for the good of posterity. To which his answer was, "That he was now grown old, "and unfit to write Cases of Conscience." But the

King was so bold with him as to say, "It was the "simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sander- "son; for no young man was fit to be a judge, or "write Cases of Conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious King told Dr. Sanderson, or one of them that then waited with him, "that the re- "membrance of two errors did much afflict him; "which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's "death, and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; "and that if God ever restored him to be in a peace- "able possession of his crown, he would demon- "strate his repentance by a public confession, and a "voluntary penance,"—I think barefoot—"from the "Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's Church, "and desire the people to intercede with God for his "pardon." I am sure one of them that told me lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson's Lectures *de Juramento* were so approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude he translated them into exact English; desiring Dr. Juxon, —then Bishop of London—Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert, who then attended him,—to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately shewed me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms. The book was designed to be put into the King's Library at St. James's; but I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and the translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be

concealed from the reader, and 'tis therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair in Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the Covenant, Negative Oath, and Parliament Ordinance for Church discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion; for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and University full of soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods: but, notwithstanding Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened; and, as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves of their colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was in June, 1648, forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader that the year before this expulsion, when the University had denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Christ Church, now Lord Bishop of Winchester, and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or accept of their reasons

why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by Parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee counsel to plead their cause on the day appointed; but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst undertake it; for at this time the privileges of that Parliament were become a *Noli me tangere*, as sacred and useful to them, as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced, for want of counsel, to plead the University's reasons for non-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the Dissenters out of the University. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him and hearing a good report of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and, that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me "he had such a love for Dr. Morley, "that knowing he would not take the oaths, and "must therefore be ejected his college and leave Ox-"ford; he desired I would therefore write to him to

"ride out of Oxford when the visitors came into it, "and not return till they left it, and he should be "sure then to return in safety; and that he should "without taking any oath or other molestation, en-"joy his canon's place in his college." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word, and his answer was, "that I must not "fail to return my friend, who still lives, his humble "and undissembled thanks, though he could not "accept of his intended kindness; for when the "Dean, Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, "Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the college were "turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to "be, if not a sin, yet a shame, to be left behind with "him only." Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may easily be imagined with what a joyful willingness these self-loving reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and subsistence: but their consciences were dearer than their subsistence, and out they went, the reformers possessing them without shame or scruple; where I will leave these scruple-mongers, and make an account of the then present affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the Bishops' houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with divines that would not take the Covenant, or forbear reading Common Prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these. For it may be noted that about this time the Parliament sent out a proclamation to encourage

all laymen that had occasion to complain of their ministers for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a committee for that purpose; and the Minister, though a hundred miles from London, was to appear there, and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; and you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complaint—by which means all prisons in London, and in some other places, became the sad habitations of conforming divines.

And about this time the Bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many of the malicious citizens, fearing his pardon, shut up their shops, professing not to open them till justice was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible; but I saw it.

The Bishops had been voted out of the House of Parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower: which made many Covenanters rejoice, and believe Mr. Brightman, who probably was a good and well-meaning man, to be inspired in his "Com-"ment on the Apocalypse," an abridgement of which was now printed, and called "Mr. Brightman's "Revelation of the Revelation." And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet, because he had made the Churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no Bishops, to be Philadelphia in the Apocalypse, the Angel that God loved, Rev. iii. 7-13, and the power of Prelacy to be Antichrist, the evil Angel, which the House of Commons had now so spewed up, as never to recover their dignity; therefore did those Covenanters approve and applaud Mr.

Brightman for discovering and foretelling the Bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and rejoiced to buy good pennyworths of their land, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford them, as a reward for their diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the Bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not, preach true doctrine; and by this and like means, several churches had several teachers that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not, some of which I shall mention in the discourse that follows.

I have heard of two men, that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person: and one concluded he was a very honest man, "for he was "beholden to him;" and the other that he was not, "for he was not beholden to him." And something like this was in the designs both of the Covenanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former; for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the Covenant; and the other, that we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear to the Covenant contrary to their consciences, and lose both their livings and liberties too. Though these differed thus in their conclu-

sions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They also made other strange observations of election, reprobation, and free will, and the other points dependent upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of; I am sure I am not, though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannell.

And in the way thither I must tell him that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a Presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian, being well settled in this good living, began to reform the churchyard by cutting down a large yew tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners, who, excepting against him for so doing, were answered, "That the trees "were his, and 'twas lawful for every man to use his "own, as he, and not as they thought fit." I have heard, but do not affirm it, that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet off a dead body after it is buried, and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it; nor would one suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did. And whether there were

any law against him I know not, but pity the parish the less for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannell, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise: for all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers, serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this Covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy,—so the historian saith,—when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations: and though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguiled and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could not live peaceably; nor did he; for the soldiers would appear, and visibly disturb him in the Church when he read prayers, pretending to advise him how God was to be served most acceptably: which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the Church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.

At this time he was advised by a Parliament man of power and note, that valued and loved him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the sol-

diers came to watch him; for then it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the Covenant, or sequestration: for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the Rubric. I will set down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

"O Almighty God and merciful Father, we, Thy "unworthy servants, do with shame and sorrow con- "fess, that we have all our life long gone astray out "of Thy ways like lost sheep; and that, by follow- "ing too much the vain devices and desires of our "own hearts, we have grievously offended against "Thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed: "we have many times left undone those good duties, "which we might and ought to have done; and we "have many times done those evils, when we might "have avoided them, which we ought not to have "done. We confess, O Lord! that there is no "health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve "us; but all our hope is in Thy mercy, whose jus- "tice we have by our sins so far provoked. Have "mercy therefore upon us, O Lord! have mercy "upon us miserable offenders: spare us, good God, "who confess our faults, that we perish not; but, "according to Thy gracious promises declared unto "mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon "our true repentance into Thy grace and favour. "And grant, O most merciful Father for His sake, "that we henceforth study to serve and please Thee

"by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to "the glory of Thy holy name, and the eternal com- "fort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our "Lord. Amen."

In these disturbances of tearing his service-book, a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said; "God "hath restored me to my desired privacy, with my "wife and children; where I hoped to have met "with quietness, and it proves not so: but I will "labour to be pleased, because God, on whom I de- "pend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise "Him, that He hath by His grace, prevented me "from making shipwreck of a good conscience, to "maintain me in a place of great reputation and "profit: and though my condition be such, that I "need the last, yet I submit; for God did not send "me into this world to do my own, but suffer His "will, and I will obey it." Thus by a sublime de- pending on his wise, and powerful, and pitiful Crea- tor, he did cheerfully submit to what God had ap- pointed, justifying the truth of that doctrine which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of "The "King's Meditations in his Solitude" was printed, and made public; and Dr. Sanderson was such a lover of the author, and so desirous that the whole world should see the character of him in that book, and something of the cause for which they suffered, that he designed to turn it into Latin: but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr.

Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done the whole very well before him.

About this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a conversation and rest with him for some days; and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had writ it, Dr. Sanderson became so compliant, as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbour minister, and requested to exchange a sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon—which was a very short one—into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was writ: but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond, —looking on his sermon as written—observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, that he also became afraid for him: for 'twas discernible to many of that plain auditory. But when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, "Good "Doctor, give me my sermon; and know, that nei- "ther you nor any man living, shall ever persuade "me to preach again without my books." To which the reply was, "Good Doctor, be not angry: for if "I ever persuade you to preach again without book, "I will give you leave to burn all those that I am "master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit, was at this time to discourse with Dr. Sanderson about some opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly: it was about those knotty points, which are by the learned called the

Quinquarticular Controversy; of which I shall proceed not to give any judgment,—I pretend not to that,—but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy Covenant was brought and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers—those of London especially—to preach and be too positive in the points of universal redemption, predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached, "That all men were, before they came "into this world, so predestinated to salvation or "damnation, that it was not in their power to sin "so, as to lose the first, nor by their most diligent "endeavour to avoid the latter. Others, that it "was not so: because then God could not be said to "grieve for the death of a sinner, when He Himself "had made him so by an inevitable decree, before "he had so much as a being in this world;" affirming therefore, "that man had some power left him "to do the will of God, because he was advised to "work out his salvation with fear and trembling;" maintaining, "that it is most certain every man can "do what he can to be saved;" and that "he that "does what he can to be saved, shall never be "damned." And yet many that affirmed this would confess, "That that grace, which is but a persuasive "offer, and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that "grace which shall bring men to Heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these, or the like occasions, come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce,—the now Reverend Dean of Salisbury,—of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the fifty-two London ministers —then a fraternity of Sion College in that city— had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his Practical Catechism affirmed, that our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind. To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply—as 'tis now printed in his works.—After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees differed with Dr. Hammond,—whom he reverenced and loved dearly,—and would not therefore engage him in a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: but they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned: those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being printed in his works; and for what passed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter sent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson, was, by these debates, altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent Sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find that, upon a review and reprinting those Sermons in folio, in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let

me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a postscript to the last letter of his to Dr. Sanderson, says, "God can reconcile His own contradictions, and "therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, "to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety." And let me add further, that if these fifty-two ministers of Sion College were the occasion of the debates in these letters, they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the Quinquarticular Controversy; for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confess it to the honour of God and themselves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

I cannot lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson, where we left them at Boothby Pannell, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both then and before it; yet my desire is that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter, concern us; namely, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he having

freely pardoned all his enemies, and humbly begged of God to pardon them, and besought those present to pardon and pray for him; yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the City, for suffering a sort of wretched people, that could not know why he was condemned, to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, that the Parliament would hasten his execution. And having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery,—for that was one of the accusations for which he died,—he declared with sadness, "That the several sects and "divisions then in England—which he had laboured "to prevent,—were like to bring the Pope a far "greater harvest, than he could ever have expected "without them." And said, "These sects and di-"visions introduce profaneness under the cloak of "an imaginary religion; and that we have lost the "substance of religion by changing it into opinion: "and that by these means this Church, which all "the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, was fallen "into apparent danger by those which were his ac-"cusers." To this purpose he spoke at his death: for this, and more of which, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned because his dear friend, Dr. Sanderson, seems to demonstrate the same in his two large and remarkable Prefaces before his two volumes of Sermons; and he seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last Will, made when he apprehended himself to be very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the Profes-

sor's Chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it,—for he lived fourteen years after,—both the learned of this, and other nations, had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him: but this benefit is so like time past, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannell, where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together; but neither can be found there: for the first was in his journey to London, and the second seized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried prisoner to Lincoln, then a garrison of the Parliament's. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I shall give this following account.

There was one Mr. Clarke, the minister of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannell, who was an active man for the Parliament and Covenant; one that, when Belvoir Castle—then a garrison for the Parliament—was taken by a party of the King's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark, then a garrison of the King's; a man so active and useful for his party, that they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the Committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garrison: and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many, that knew him so well as to treat him kindly; but told him, "He must "continue their prisoner, till he should purchase his "own enlargement by procuring an exchange for

" Mr. Clarke, then prisoner in the King's garrison " of Newark." There were many reasons given by the Doctor of the injustice of his imprisonment, and the inequality of the exchange: but all were ineffectual; for done it must be, or he continue a prisoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions.

First, that Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged, should live undisturbed at their own parishes; and if either were injured by the soldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other party. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places: but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both; and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet, by His Providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas as his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the Articles of War in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor, but contented subsistence for himself, wife, and children, till the happy restoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor, but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation, and sincerity, became so remarkable, that there were

many that applied themselves to him for resolution in cases of conscience; some known to him, many not; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet he denied no man: and if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, "That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy or doing kindnesses;" then doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences; which, as Solomon says, "are a burden "that none can bear, though their fortitude may "sustain their other infirmities;" and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies; then Dr. Sanderson might rejoice that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied, for he denied none, and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion, and that God had inclined his heart to do it to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.

Some of these very many cases that were resolved by letters, have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity; as namely,

1. Of the Sabbath.
2. Marrying with a Recusant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of Scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the King's name.
7. Of the Engagement.
8. Of a rash vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive some patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown giddy by the many falsehoods, and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons; when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon Him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous frenzies; in this time he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened danger, yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold Preface now extant before his last twenty Sermons;—first printed in the year 1655;—in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed with such a spirit of contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifest,—his conscience having slept long and quietly in a good sequestered living,—was yet at the reading of it so awakened, that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was to sustain if he consented to it,—and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reasoned,—he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, "he "had sold a book in which there was false divinity;

" and that the Preface had upbraided the Parliament, " and many godly ministers of that party, for unjust " dealing." To which his reply was,—'twas Tim. Garthwaite,—" That 'twas not his trade to judge of " true or false divinity, but to print and sell books: " and yet if he, or any friend of his, would write an " answer to it, and own it by setting his name to it, " he would print the answer, and promote the sell- " ing of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent Preface, I met him accidentally in London, in sad-coloured clothes, and, God knows, far from being costly. The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a penthouse,—for it began to rain,—and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire, for our money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations, with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader. He seemed to lament that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and use of it with their blood; and that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it, and at least pretend to make better prayers *ex*

tempore: and that they, and only they, that could do so, prayed by the Spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the Common Prayer of the Church, saying "the Col-" lects were the most passionate, proper, and most ele-" gant expressions that any language ever afforded; " and that there was in them such piety, and so in-" terwoven with instructions, that they taught us to " know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and " mercy of God, and much of our duty both to Him " and our neighbour; and that a congregation, be-" having themselves reverently, and putting up to " God these joint and known desires for pardon of " sins, and praises for mercies received, could not " but be more pleasing to God, than those raw, un-" premeditated expressions, to which many of the " hearers could not say, Amen."

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms of David; speaking to this purpose: "That they were the treasury of Christian " comfort fitted for all persons and necessities; able " to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent " mention of God's mercies to repentant sinners; to " stir up holy desires: to increase joy; to moderate " sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience by " waiting God's leisure; to beget a trust in the " mercy, power, and providence of our Creator; and " to cause a resignation of ourselves to His will; and " then, and not till then, to believe ourselves happy." This, he said, the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that, by the frequent use of the last, they would not only prove to be our souls' comfort, but would

become so habitual as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner he expressed himself concerning the Liturgy and Psalms; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about Freewill, Election, and Reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to Heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, "they might be "religious first, and then just and merciful; that "they might sell their consciences, and yet have "something left that was worth keeping; that they "might be sure they were elected, though their "lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning "was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, "though their wealth was got without justice or "mercy; that to be busy in things they understood "not was no sin." These and the like mistakes he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and singleheartedness, with which this nation was blessed before the unhappy Covenant was brought among us, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "That the way to restore this nation to a "more meek and Christian temper, was to have the "body of divinity—or so much of it as was needful "to be known—to be put into fifty-two homilies or

" sermons, of such a length as not to exceed a third " or fourth part of an hour's reading; and these " needful points to be made so clear and plain, that " those of a mean capacity might know what was " necessary to be believed, and what God requires " to be done; and then some applications of trial " and conviction: and these to be read every Sun- " day of the year, as infallibly as the blood circu- " lates the body; and as certainly begun again, and " continued the year following: and that this being " done, it might probably abate the inordinate de- " sire of knowing what we need not, and practising " what we know and ought to do." This was the earnest desire of this prudent man. And oh that Dr. Sanderson had undertaken it! for then in all probability it would have proved effectual.

And at this happy time of enjoying his company and this discourse, he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, " Oh that I had gone chaplain to that excellently " accomplished gentleman, your friend, Sir Henry " Wotton! which was once intended, when he first " went ambassador to the State of Venice: for by " that employment I had been forced into a neces- " sity of conversing, not with him only, but with " several men of several nations; and might thereby " have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness, " which has proved very troublesome, and not less " inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is be- " come so habitual as never to leave me: and by " that means I might also have known, or at least " have had the satisfaction of seeing, one of the " late miracles of general learning, prudence, and " modesty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Padre " Paulo, who, the author of his life says, was born

" with a bashfulness as invincible as I have found
" my own to be: a man whose fame must never die,
" till virtue and learning shall become so useless as
" not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's conversation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescension. I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in many parishes, where the maintenance was not great, there was no minister to officiate; and that many of the best sequestered livings were possessed with such rigid Covenanters as denied the sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions and in such a manner as they could not take it. This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, " The blessed sa-
" crament did, by way of preparation for it, give
" occasion to all conscientious receivers to examine
" the performance of their vows, since they received
" their last seal for the pardon of their sins past;
" and to examine and re-search their hearts, and
" make penitent reflections on their failings; and that
" done, to bewail them, and then make new vows or
" resolutions to obey all God's commands, and beg
" His grace to perform them. And this done, the sa-
" crament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to con-
" quer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace,
" and then gives us what we beg; makes us still hun-
" ger and thirst after His righteousness, which we
" then receive, and being assisted with our endea-
" vours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our
" sanctification in this life, and our comfort on our last

"sick beds." The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall: his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little, yet enough, of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, but so matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many Parliament injunctions that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful, his integrity visible, and his whole life so unspotted, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after; the clergy especially, who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God whose pure eyes abhor iniquity.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes, that the sight becomes less perfect: but there was therein no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as 'twas only overcome by his bashfulness; for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius, without book; and would say, "the repetition of one of the "Odes of Horace to himself was to him such music "as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they

" played it to themselves or friends." And though he was blest with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it that he did over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his Divinity Lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend Dr. Sheldon would often say, namely, " That his judgment was so much superior to his " fancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that disliked " and controlled; still considering and re-consider- " ing, till his time was so wasted, that he was forced " to write, not, probably, what was best, but what " he thought last." And yet what he did then read appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applause. These tiring and perplexing thoughts, begot in him some averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time, they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions; yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes; and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the

day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness; always praising God that He had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor suffered him to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved with David, "That His praise should be always in "his mouth."

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and more might be added of all: but I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men suffered, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very low condition as to his estate; and in that time Mr. Robert Boyle—a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives—having casually met with and read his Lectures *de Juramento*, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow—the now learned Bishop of Lincoln—£50, and with it a request and promise. The request was that he would review the Lectures *de Conscientiâ*, which he had read when he was Doctor of the Chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity:—and this Dr. Sanderson did in the year 1659. And the promise was, that he would pay him that, or a greater sum yearly if desired, during his life, to enable him to pay an amanuensis,

to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate. For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the end of this year, 1659, when the many mixed sects, and their creators and merciless protectors, had led or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion: when amazement and fear had seized them, and their accusing consciences gave them an inward and fearful intelligence that the god which they had long served was now ready to pay them such wages, as he does always reward witches with for their obeying him; when these wretches were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return; and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson—and with him many of the oppressed clergy and others—could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it; then, in the beginning of the year following, the King was by God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations. Then were the suffering clergy freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to God in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe, that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this day, and be of this number.

It ought to be considered—which I have often heard or read—that in the primitive times men of learning and virtue were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of episcopal government, and

often refused it. For they conscientiously considered that the office of a Bishop was made up of labour and care; that they were trusted to be God's almoners of the Church's revenue, and double their care for the poor; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy did so; and that the account of that stewardship must at the last dreadful day be made to the Searcher of all hearts; and that in the primitive times they were therefore timorous to undertake it. It may not be said that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required in a Bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly; but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years—for he was so old at the King's return—fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man than are apparent in others in these days, in which, God knows, we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; and namely, that at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Archbishop of Canterbury, than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better, was by his Majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him; and that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would for God's and the Church's sake take that charge and care upon him. Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness

to undertake it, and would often say he had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation which he had daily prayed against; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with His grace, that the example of his life, his cares and endeavours, might promote His glory, and help forward the salvation of others.

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric; and am next to tell that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln at Westminster the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the Church service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty, of which last some were then preferred to power and dignity in the Church, and of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate; and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual, for there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy in the Strand; and the points debated were, I think, many: some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being then in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed as satisfied neither party. For some time that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or denied,

and so no satisfaction given to either party. But that the debate might become more useful, it was therefore resolved that the day following the desires and reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren, yet I am sure Mr. Baxter was one, and am sure what shall now follow was one of the points debated.

Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient to its being a lawful command; this proposition was brought by the conforming party.

"That command which commands an act in itself "lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, "is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing, thus:

One was, "Because that may be a sin *per acci-* "*dens*, which is not so in itself, and may be unlaw- "fully commanded, though that accident be not in "the command." Another was, "That it may be "commanded under an unjust penalty."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an "act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any "unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance "whence, *per accidens*, any sin is consequent which "the commander ought to provide against, is not "sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason, then given in with his own hand in writing thus: "Because "the first act commanded may be *per accidens* un- "lawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty,

"though no other act or circumstance commanded "be such."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an "act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any "unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance, "whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is conse-"quent, which the commander ought to provide "against, hath in it all things requisite to the law-"fulness of a command, and particularly cannot be "guilty of commanding an act *per accidens* unlaw-"ful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust "penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

PETER GUNNING.
JOHN PEARSON.

These were then two of the disputants, still alive, and will attest this; one being now Lord Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately that one of the dissenters—which I could, but forbear to name—appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderson—who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other Bishops—to say with an unusual earnestness, "That he had never met with a man of more "pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his "conversation."

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it; and the late distressed clergy that were now restored

to their former rights and power did, at their next meeting in Convocation, contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the Rubric and Common Prayer, as also by adding some new necessary collects, and a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of those new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson I cannot say, but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this Convocation the Common Prayer was made more complete by adding three new necessary offices, which were: "A Form of Humiliation for the "Murder of King Charles the Martyr: A Thanks-"giving for the Restoration of his Son our King;" and "For the Baptizing of persons of riper age." I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form, or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the Convocation; and he did also, by desire of the Convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayer to be used at sea, now taken into the Service Book. And it may be noted that William, the now Right Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, was in these employments diligently useful, especially in helping to rectify the calendar and rubric. And lastly, it may be noted that, for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the Convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson, which being done by him, and approved by them,

was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be known by this title—"The Preface;" and begins thus—"It hath been the Wisdom of the "Church."

I shall now follow him to his bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanèst of his clergy, as to know and be known to most of them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannell; for there was all joy at his table when they came to visit him; then they prayed for him and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that the care and toil required of a Bishop may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them; and yet he sought not that so much as doing good both to the present age and posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The Bishop's chief house at Buckden, in the county of Huntingdon, the usual residence of his predecessors, for it stands about the midst of his diocese, having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added that the King, having by an injunction commended to the care of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends of all cathedral churches, "the repair of them, their "houses, and augmentation of small vicarages;" he,

when he was repairing Buckden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases; so fast, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember "he was under his first-fruits, and that he was old, "and had a wife and children yet but meanly pro-"vided for, especially if his dignity were consi-"dered." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not become a Christian "Bishop to suffer those houses built by his prede-"cessors to be ruined for want of repair; and less "justifiable to suffer any of those that were called "to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God's altar, to "eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a "power by a small augmentation to turn it into the "bread of cheerfulness; and wished that as this "was, so it were also in his power to make all man-"kind happy, for he desired nothing more. And "for his wife and children, he hoped to leave them "a competence, and in the hands of a God that "would provide for all that kept innocence, and "trusted His providence and protection, which he "had always found enough to make and keep him "happy."

There was in his diocese a minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness. This minister asked the Bishop what books he studied most when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning. To which his answer was "that he declined reading many, but what he did "read were well chosen, and read so often, that he "became very familiar with them;" and said,

"they were chiefly three — Aristotle's Rhetoric, "Aquinas's *Secunda Secundæ*, and Tully, but chiefly "his Offices, which he had not read over less than "twenty times, and could at this age say without "book." And told him also, "the learned Civilian "Doctor Zouch, who died lately, had written *Ele-* "*menta Jurisprudentiæ*, which was a book that he "could also say without book; and that no wise "man could read it too often, or love or commend "too much;" and told him "these had been his "toil; but for himself he always had a natural love "to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his "thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, "he left off and turned to them as a recreation; "and that his very recreation had made him so "perfect in them, that he could in a very short time "give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity "of any family of the nobility or gentry of this "nation."

Before I give an account of Dr. Sanderson's last sickness, I desire to tell the reader that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it; and this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying—indeed too much. In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason,—for this distemper works not upon the understanding,— he made his last Will, of which I shall give some

account for confirmation of what hath been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did in his last Will give an account of his faith and persuasion, in point of religion and church government, in these very words:

"I, Robert Sanderson, Doctor of Divinity, an "unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, and, by the "Providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by "the long continuance of an habitual distemper "brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness "of spirits, but—by the great mercy of God—with-"out any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of under-"standing, do make this my Will and Testament,— "written all with my own hand, revoking all former "Wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be "found. First, I commend my soul into the hands "of Almighty God as of a faithful Creator, which I "humbly beseech Him mercifully to accept, looking "upon it, not as it is in itself,—infinitely polluted "with sin,—but as it is redeemed and purged with "the precious blood of His only beloved Son, and "my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confi-"dence of Whose merits and mediation alone it is "that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the "pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. "And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I "desire, and—by the grace of God—resolve to die "in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, "and a true son of the Church of England; which, "as it stands by law established, to be both in doc-"trine and worship agreeable to the word of God, "and in the most, and most material points of both, "conformable to the faith and practice of the godly

"Churches of Christ in the primitive and purer "times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so "much from the force of custom and education, to "which the greatest part of mankind owe their par- "ticular different persuasions in point of religion, "as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, "after a serious and unpartial examination of the "grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, accord- "ing to that measure of understanding, and those "opportunities which God hath afforded me; and "herein I am abundantly satisfied that the schism "which the Papists on the one hand, and the super- "stition which the Puritans on the other hand, lay "to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon "themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly "beseech Almighty God, the Father of mercies, to "preserve the Church by His power and providence "in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the "world's end; which doubtless He will do, if the "wickedness and security of a sinful people—and "particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem "daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, "riot, and sacrilege—do not tempt His patience to "the contrary. And I also further humbly beseech "Him that it would please Him to give unto our "gracious Sovereign, the reverend Bishops, and the "Parliament, timely to consider the great danger "that visibly threatens this Church in point of re- "ligion by the late great increase of Popery, and in "point of revenue by sacrilegious enclosures; and "to provide such wholesome and effectual reme- "dies as may prevent the same before it be too "late."

And for a further manifestation of his humble

thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader by another part of his Will which follows.

"As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to "the earth whence it was taken, to be decently "buried in the parish church of Buckden, towards "the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or "at the furthest, the third day after my decease; "and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as "may be, without the invitation of any person how "near soever related unto me, other than the inha- "bitants of Buckden; without the unnecessary ex- "pense of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and "without any blacks to be hung any where in or "about the house or Church, other than a pulpit- "cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning gown for "the preacher; whereof the former, after my body "shall be interred, to be given to the preacher of "the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of "the parish for the time being. And my will "further is that the funeral sermon be preached "by my own household chaplain, containing some "wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the re- "surrection of the dead, and the last judgment; "and that he shall have for his pains 5*l*. upon con- "dition that he speak nothing at all concerning my "person, either good or ill, other than I myself "shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that "it was my express will to have it so. And it is "my will that no costly monument be erected for "my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to "be laid over me, with this inscription in legible "Roman characters, DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON "NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO "DOMINI MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO

" SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPE BEATÆ RESURREC-
" TIONIS. This manner of burial, although I cannot
" but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry
" my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be
" censured by others as an evidence of my too much
" parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being alto-
" gether unusual, and not according to the mode of
" these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of
" my heart, and I do very much desire my Will may
" be carefully observed herein, hoping it may be-
" come exemplary to some or other: at least howso-
" ever testifying at my death—what I have so often
" and earnestly professed in my lifetime—my utter
" dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral
" sermons, and of the vast expenses otherwise laid
" out in funeral solemnities and entertainments,
" with very little benefit to any; which, if bestowed
" in pious and charitable works, might redound to
" the public or private benefit of many persons."

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his body was buried in Buckden, the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation as he desired it; and all the rest of his Will was as punctually performed. And when I have—to his just praise—told this truth, "that he died far from being rich," I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last sick bed.

His last Will—of which I have mentioned a part—was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to him-

self in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. And that none of his clergy—which are more numerous than any other Bishop's—might suffer by his retirement, he did by commission impower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with episcopal power to give institutions to all livings or Church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their prayers backward for "him: and that it was not his desire to live a useless "life, and by filling up a place keep another out of it "that might do God and His Church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "That during his being a housekeeper, "which was more than forty years—there had not "been one buried out of his family, and that he was "now like to be the first." He would also often mention with thankfulness, "That till he was three score "years of age, he had never spent five shillings in "law, nor—upon himself—so much in wine: and re-"joiced much that he had so lived, as never to cause "an hour's sorrow to his good father, and hoped he "should die without an enemy."

He, in this retirement, had the Church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night, some prayers read to him and a part of his family out of "The Whole Duty of Man." As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals. And his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he expecting and call-

ing for it, was answered, "It would be ready in a "quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, "A "quarter of an hour! Is a quarter of an hour no- "thing to a man that probably has not many hours "to live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after—which was three days before his death—he was become so weak and weary of either motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed: in which I desire he may rest, till I have given some account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed,—which was three days before his death,—he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for it was ended, he spake to this purpose: "Thou, O God! tookest me out of my "mother's womb, and hast been the powerful Pro- "tector of me to this present moment of my life: "Thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become "grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake Thee in "the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my con- "science for the preservation of my liberty or estate. "It was by grace that I have stood, when others "have fallen under my trials: and these mercies I "now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my "hope and desire is, that I may die praising Thee."

The frequent repetition of the Psalms of David,

hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Christians; the Psalms having in them not only prayers and holy instructions, but such commemorations of God's mercies as may preserve, comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Psalmist said, that his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and night watches, by meditating on God's Word: Psal. cxix. 147, so it was Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very Psalms that the Church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily morning service: and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the evening, remembering and repeating the very Psalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if his first waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it, he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now his employment in Heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful; and he said, "Lord, forsake "me not now my strength faileth me; but continue "Thy mercy, and let my mouth be filled with Thy

"praise." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment: and during that time did often say the 103rd Psalm to himself, and very often these words, "My heart is fixed, O God! my heart is fixed "where true joy is to be found." His thoughts seemed now to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared, that the King of Terrors could not surprise him as a thief in the night: for he had often said, he was prepared, and longed for it. And as this desire seemed to come from Heaven, so it left him not till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in concert with him, and sing praise and glory to that God who hath brought them to that place into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. 'Tis now too late to wish that my life may be like his, for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age: but I humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may; and do as earnestly beg that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain and as true relation, he will be so charitable as to say Amen.

I. W.

"Blessed is the man in whose spirit there is no guile." Psal. xxxii. 2.

DR. PIERCE'S LETTER.

Good Mr. Walton,

T my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. Sanderson, before the happy restoration of the King and Church of England to their several rights: in one of which letters more especially, he was pleased to give me a narrative both of the rise and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper judgment, touching the famous points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjustly and unskilfully) miscalled on either side.

The whole letter I allude to does consist of several sheets, whereof a good part had been made public long ago, by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. Hammond, (to whom I sent it both for his private, and for the public satisfaction, if he thought fit,) in his excellent book, entitled, "A Pacific Dis-" course of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accord-" ance with Dr. Sanderson:" to which discourse I refer you for an account of Dr. Sanderson and the history of his thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I sent it to Westwood, as I received it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole book, (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted since with

his other tracts in folio,) is very worthy of your perusal; yet, for the work you are about, you shall not have need to read more at present than from the 8th to the 23rd page, and as far as the end of section 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became a Master of Arts: how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's Institutions, the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors: how he erred with Mr. Calvin, whilst he took things upon trust in the sublapsarian way: how, being chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln, 1625, he reduced the Quinquarticular Controversy into five schemes or tables; and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the supralapsarian, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty reasons against them both, and find his happy change of judgment to have been ever since the year 1625, even thirty-four years before the world either knew, or, at least, took notice of it; and more particularly his reasons for rejecting Dr. Twiss, (or the way he walks in,) although his acute and very learned and ancient friend.

I now proceed to let you know, from Dr. Sanderson's own hand,* which was never printed, (and which you can hardly know from any, unless from

* Sir, I pray note, that all that follows between inverted commas are Dr. Sanderson's own words, excellently worthy, but, no where else extant; and commend him as much as any thing you can say of him. T. P.

his son, or from myself,) that, when that Parliament was broken up, and the convocation therewith dissolved, a gentleman of his acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these points, told him of a book not long before published at Paris, (A. D. 1623,) by a Spanish bishop,* who had undertaken to clear the differences in the great controversy *De Concordia Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii.* And because his friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the book, he sent him one of them, containing the four first books of twelve which he intended then to publish. "When I had read," says Dr. Sanderson, in the following words of the same letter, "his Epistle "Dedicatory to the Pope (Gregory XV.), he spake "so highly of his own invention, that I then began "rather to suspect him for a mountebank, than to "hope I should find satisfaction from his perform-"ances. I found much confidence and great pomp "of words, but little matter as to the main knot of "the business, other than had been said an hundred "times before, to wit, of the coexistence of all things, "past, present, and future, *in mente divina realiter* "*ab æterno,* which is the subject of his whole third "book: only he interpreteth the word *realiter* so as "to import not only *præsentialitatem objectivam,* (as "others held before him,) but *propriam et actualem* "*existentiam*; yet confesseth it is hard to make this "intelligible. In his fourth book he endeavours to "declare a two-fold manner of God's working *ad* "*extra*; the one *sub ordine prædestinationis,* of which "eternity is the proper measure: the other *sub or-*"*dine gratiæ,* whereof time is the measure; and that "God worketh *fortiter* in the one (though not *irre-*

* Arriba.

" *sistibiliter*) as well *suaviter* in the other, wherein " the free will hath his proper working also. From " the result of his whole performance I was confirmed " in this opinion: that we must acknowledge the " work of both grace and freewill in the conversion " of a sinner; and so likewise in all other events, " the consistency of the infallibility of God's fore- " knowledge at least (though not with any absolute " but conditional predestination) with the liberty of " man's will, and the contingency of inferior causes " and effects. These, I say, we must acknowledge " for the ὅτι: but for the τὸ πῶς, I thought it boot- " less for me to think of comprehending it. And so " came the two *Acta Synodalia Dordrechtana* to " stand in my study, only to fill up a room to this " day.

" And yet see the restless curiosity of man. Not " many years after, to wit, A.D. 1632, out cometh " Dr. Twiss's,* *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, a large volume, " purposely writ against Arminius: and then not- " withstanding my former resolution, I must need be " meddling again. The respect I bore to his person " and great learning, and the acquaintance I had had " with him in Oxford, drew me to the reading of " that whole book. But from the reading of it (for " I read it through to a syllable) I went away with " many and great dissatisfactions. Sundry things in " that book I took notice of, which brought me into

* This learned nonconformist was born at Reading about 1575, and educated at Winchester School, and New College, Oxford. He had been Chaplain to the Princess Elizabeth. He died at Newbury, July 20, 1646. Wood says, " his plain " preaching was esteemed good; his solid disputations were " accounted better; but his pious life was reckoned best of " all."

" a greater dislike of his opinion than I had before:
" but especially these three: First, that he bottom-
" eth very much of his discourse upon a very erro-
" neous principle, which yet he seemeth to be so
" deeply in love with, that he hath repeated it, I
" verily believe, some hundreds of times in that
" work: to wit this; That whatsoever is first in the
" intention is last in execution, and *e converso.*
" Which is an error of that magnitude, that I can-
" not but wonder how a person of such acuteness
" and subtilty of wit could possibly be deceived
" with it. All logicians know there is no such uni-
" versal maxim as he buildeth upon. The true
" maxim is but this: *Finis qui primus est in inten-*
" *tione, est ultimus in executione.* In the order of
" final causes, and the means used for that end, the
" rule holdeth perpetually: but in other things it
" holdeth not at all, or but by chance; or not as
" a rule, and necessarily. Secondly, that, forseeing
" such consequences would naturally and necessarily
" follow from his opinion, as would offend the ear of
" a sober Christian at the very first sound, he would
" yet rather choose not only to admit the said harsh
" consequences, but professedly endeavour also to
" maintain them, and plead hard for them in large
" digressions, than to recede in the least from that opi-
" nion which he had undertaken to defend. Thirdly,
" that seeing (out of the sharpness of his wit) a ne-
" cessity of forsaking the ordinary sublapsarian way,
" and the supralapsarian too, as it had diversely been
" declared by all that had gone before him, (for the
" shunning of those rocks, which either of those
" ways must unavoidably cast him upon,) he was
" forced to seek out an untrodden path, and to frame

" out of his own brain a new way, (like a spider's web " wrought out of her own bowels,) hoping by that " device to salve all absurdities, that could be ob- " jected; to wit, by making the glory of God (as it " is indeed the chiefest, so) the only end of all other " His decrees, and then making all those other " decrees to be but one entire coordinate medium " conducing to that one end, and so the whole sub- " ordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subor- " dinate to any other of the same. Dr. Twiss should " have done well to have been more sparing in im- " puting the *studium partium* to others, wherewith " his own eyes, though of eminent perspicacity, were " so strangely blindfolded, that he could not discern " how this his new device, and his old dearly beloved " principle, (like the *Cadmean Sparti,*) do mutually " destroy the one the other.

" This relation of my past thoughts having spun out " to a far greater length than I intended, I shall give " a shorter account of what they now are concerning " these points."

For which account I refer you to the following parts of Dr. Hammond's book aforesaid, where you may find them already printed: and for another account at large of Bishop Sanderson's last judgment concerning *God's concurrence* or *non-concurrence* with the *actions of men*, and the *positive entity of sins of commission*, I refer you to his letters already printed by his consent, in my large Appendix to my Impartial Enquiry into the Nature of Sin, §. 68, p. 193, as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice to transcribe all above out of the letters of Dr. Sanderson, which lie before me, than venture the loss of my originals

by post or carrier, which, though not often, yet sometimes fail. Make use of as much or as little as you please, of what I send you from himself (because from his own letters to me) in the penning of his life, as your own prudence shall direct you: using my name for your warranty in the account given of him, as much or as little as you please too. You have a performance of my promise, and an obedience to your desires from

Your affectionate

Humble Servant,

THO. PIERCE.

North Tidworth,
March 5, 1677-8.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER.

My worthy Friend, Mr. Walton,

I AM heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the Life of that excellent person, and, both for learning and piety, eminent Prelate, Dr. Sanderson, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: And sure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned Prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life as were certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of twenty years; and, in Oxon, to enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious instructions while he was Regius Professor of Divinity there. Afterwards, when (in the time of our late unhappy confusions) he left Oxon, and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein, with great candour and kindness, he answered those doubts I proposed, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had nor expected from some others of greater confidence, but less judgment and humility. Having, in a letter, named two or three books writ (*ex professo*) against the being of any original sin: and that

Adam, by his fall, transmitted some calamity only, but no crime to his posterity; the good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seemed to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish any error so contradictory to truth and the doctrine of the Church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the just and supreme power of this nation, both sacred and civil. I name not the books, nor their authors, which are not unknown to learned men (and I wish they had never been known) because both the doctrine and the unadvised abettors of it are, and shall be, to me apocryphal.

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of Dr. Sanderson's piety, great ability, and judgment, as a casuist. Discoursing with an honourable person,* (whose piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great) about a case of conscience concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; in which, for some particular reasons, he then desired more fully to be informed; I commended to him Dr. Sanderson's book "De Juramento;" which having read, with great satisfaction, he asked me,—"If I thought the Doc-"tor could be induced to write Cases of Conscience, "if he might have an honorary pension allowed him "to furnish him with books for that purpose?" I told him I believed he would: And, in a letter to the Doctor, told him what great satisfaction that honourable person, and many more, had reaped by reading his book "De Juramento;" and asked him, "whether he would be pleased, for the benefit of the

* Robert Boyle, Esq.

"Church, to write some tracts of Cases of Conscience?" He replied, "That he was glad that any "had received any benefit by his books:" and added further, "That if any future tract of his could "bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to say "his former had done, he would willingly, though "without any pension, set about that work." Having received this answer, that honourable person, before mentioned, did, by my hands, return £50 to the good Doctor, whose condition then (as most good men's at that time were) was but low; and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent book, "De Conscientiâ:" a book little in bulk, but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it. For there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and obligation of it, explained and proved, with such firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and can with prudence pertinently apply them *hîc et nunc* to particular cases, may, by their light and help, rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in promoting, and the piety and industry of the good Doctor, in performing that excellent work.

And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious Prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the schools, as Regius Professor of Divinity, and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers, especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occurred

in the explication of the subject-matter of his lectures; a person of quality (yet alive) privately asked him, "What course a young divine should take in "his studies, to enable him to be a good casuist?" His answer was, "That a convenient understanding "of the learned languages, at least of Hebrew, Greek, "and Latin, and a sufficient knowledge of arts and "sciences presupposed; there were two things in "human literature, a comprehension of which would "be of very great use, to enable a man to be a ra- "tional and able casuist, which otherwise was very "difficult, if not impossible: 1. A convenient know- "ledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of "it which treats of the nature of human actions: To "know, '*quid sit actus humanus* (*spontaneus, invitus, "mixtus,*) *unde habet bonitatem et malitiam mora- "lem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?*' "How the variety of circumstances varies the good- "ness or evil of human actions? How far know- "ledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, in- "crease or diminish the goodness or evil of our "actions? For every case of conscience being only "this—'Is this action good or bad? May I do it, "or may I not?'—He who, in these, knows not how "and whence human actions become morally good "and evil, never can (*in hypothesi*) rationally and "certainly determine, whether this or that particu- "lar action be so.—2. The second thing which," he said, "would be a great help and advantage to a ca- "suist, was a convenient knowledge of the nature "and obligation of laws in general: to know what a "law is; what a natural and a positive law; what's "required to the *latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel ab- "rogatio legis*;' what promulgation is antecedently

"required to the obligation of any positive law; what "ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does "excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression: "For every case of conscience being only this—'Is "this lawful for me, or is it not?' and the law the "only rule and measure by which I must judge of "the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action; it evi- "dently follows, that he who, in these, knows not "the nature and obligation of laws, never can be a "good casuist, or rationally assure himself or others, "of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of actions in par- "ticular."

This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious prelate: And having, by long experience, found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive, I could not without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it.—Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear impertinent scribble, which if nothing else, may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, and am indeed,

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS LINCOLN.

London, May 10, 1678.

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